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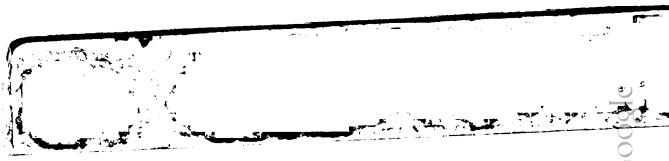

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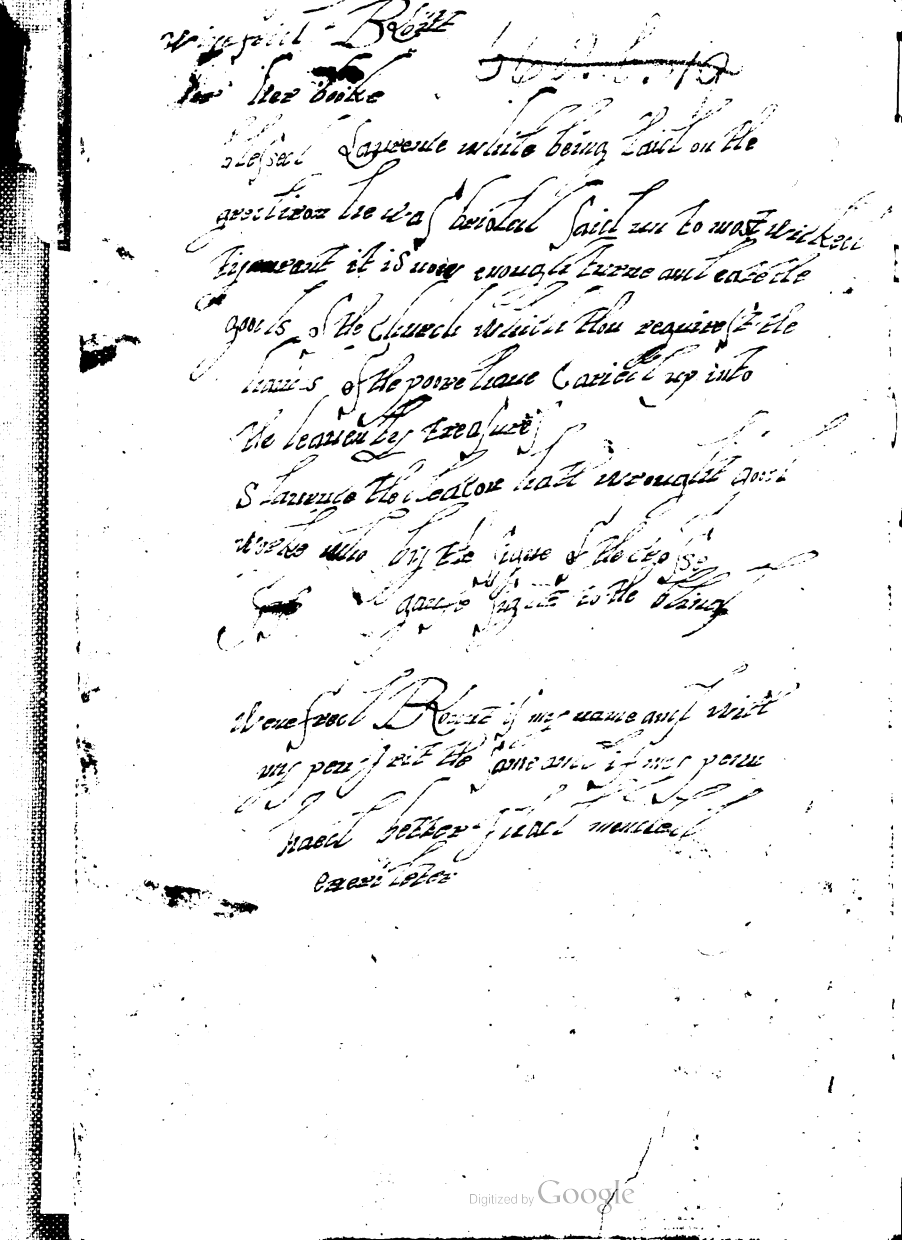

THE LIFE

OR THE

ECCLESIASTICALL

HISTORIE

OF S. THOMAS

ARCHBISHOPE

OF CANTERBVRY.

COLLONIÆ.

M. DC. XXXIX.

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TO THE MOST REVERENT FATHER IN GOD RICHARD SMYTH BISHOPE OF CHALCEDONE &c.

MOST Reuerent and my moſt honored good Lord,

I haue alwayes apprehended the life and Martirdome of that moſt excellent Prelate, and vndaunted Champion, S. Thomas Archbishope of Canterburie, a moſt perfect Paterne of a good Paſtor, yea and of a good ſubiect too, as one wiſely diſcerning Gods part

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from Cæsars, and giuing to ether their owne, without which there can be no Christian iustice. Take his owne golden, and last words for it, written to King Henry his soueraigne; *Prepared I am, not onely to die, but also to suffer a thousand deathes, and all torments whatsoeuer for Christ's sake*: Yet whether I *die or liue, I am and shall euer be yours*; *and what euer becomes of vs and ours, God euer blesse you and your issue*. So that I haue iudged no tyme mispent, in culling the peeces out of the most authenticall and best Authors, which haue concurred to the making vp of this litle bulke, or Epistolarie processe of his life and death; which I hope will appeare most contentfull and satisfactorie to all, and fittest to frame a right iudgment in any: as not being crooked and fitted to selfe endes by artificall amplifications, but furnished by knowne fact, and made good by so many and so irreprochable witnesses,

Cod. Vat. l. 5. Epist. 54.

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as it cannot indeed be ſuſpected to be in any part diſguiſed or forced by corruption or malice, but to deliuer a naked truth.

Now amongſt all thoſe, whom I duely reuerence and honor in earth, I could find none, to whoſe patronage this poore worke of myne, might laye a more iuſt clayme then to your Lordship: like as, in my iudgment, your Lordshipe can pretend no Patrone in Heauen, to whom you may haue a more confident recourſe, or with whom you might haue more ſympathie, being conſidered ſuch as he liued in this earthly habitation, for Religiouſneſſe, zeale, contrie, cauſe, conſtancie. None which comes more home to your vſe in reſpect of your long delay in banishment, and the oppoſition you haue found, euen amongſt ſome of your children, and thoſe domeſticalls of faith. In a word, in reading it you will not fayle before your death, to readea great part

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of your owne renowned life. May it, I beseech almightie God, be long, contentfull, prosperous in earth: and followed out with an eternally blessed one in heauen. These are, and euer shall be, the zealous wishes of all good men; and in particular of

Your Lords. most humble
and deuoted seruant.

A. B.

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THE PREFACE TO THE Epistolarie and Ecclesiastical History of sainct Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury.

INTENDING *to present vnto your viewe out of that reuerent an renowned author Cardinall Baronius the great controuersie betweene the Church and kingdome of England, wherein the cheife actors in this our disturbed nation, were, that mightie* King Henry *the second, and our Metropolitane sainct* Thomas *Archbishop of Canterbury, and in forraine countryes that most holy & wise Pope* Alexander *the 3. and Lewes the pious king of France, with many Catholicke Princes, and among the Scismatickes the potent Emperour Fredericke with his idoll Octauian, seeking by all meanes to intrude themselues, and put their sickles into this harueſt, where the* Diuel *the father of their execrable scysme, like a deepe polititian taking aduantage of their hellish discord had in this vnfortunate Iland sowed the cockle of dissention, I thought best in regard this canker soe spreade it selfe through the Christian world, and this history was collected out of the Epistles written by the cheifest rulers in that age, to lay open briefely the state of the westerne Church, and kingdomes vnited therein, whereby your mindes receauing light may better discouer thinges otherwise obscured. First therefore to delineate the time, I must some what touch the raigne of Pope* Adrian, Alexanders *predecessour, who being the only man of our English nation that euer steered saint Peeters ship, and was not only for his singular vertues, wisedome and*

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learning preferred to the Apostolike Sea, but also himselfe the Apostle who conuerted the Norwegyans to the Christian faith, I thinke it no vnnecessary digression to treate of his origine, progresse, and most high preferment.

Nicolas Breakespeare afterwards Pope Adriã, borne in England.

At Abbotts Langley in the County of Hertford, neere kinges Langley, where Edmund of Langley receaued his first breath, from whom all the kinges of England and Scotland haue these many yeeres descended, was borne Nicolas Breakespeare, *who after warde exalted to the gouerment of the Church of Rome, and called* Adrian *the fourth, ruled in matters of faith and Religion, the whole Christian world. His father was* Robert Breakespeare *a yonger brother of the family of Breakespeare, whose place concurring with the name is seated neere* Vxbridge *in* Middelsex *now in the possession of Ashby. His father (saith* Iohn Stowe*) after the death of his wife, and before the departure (as I conceaue) of his sonne out of the realme, professed a Religious life in the Monastery of saint Abbans; wherein* Stowe *ignorantly, not maliciously ran into an errour, for Pope* Adrians *mother (as shall bee afterwards showed) ouerliued him. It appeareth in a Counsell celebrated in* Normandie *by Pope Alexanders Legates with the Archbishop of Roane and Bishops of the same Prouince* anno Dom. 1172. *how before that time men might enter into religion leauing their wiues in the world, for there was made a Canon afterwards prohibiting it. And so might* Robert Breakespeare *in this precedent age (as it is affirmed) bee a Mouke in saint Abbans, and his wife (as it is certaine) ledd a retyred life vnder the Archbishop in Canterbury. The name of Breakespeare beeing truly English, and about the time of the Conquest, inuincibly proueth they were of the Saxon not of the* Norman race. Breakespeare *it selfe was in the raigne of king Iames the inheritable mansion of a knight, and how great*

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in forepaſſed dayes, God knoweth. But (as ſainct Thomas ſayth in his Epiſtle to Gylbert Biſhop of London) what hath a prieſt, a religious man to doe with theſe worldly flourishes? I will deſcend to his humiliation, which was his aſcent, firſt to honor, then to heauen. Leauing as Abraham *his countrey and kindred, hee trauelled in his youth to pourchaſe learning, and comming to Arnulate profeſſed religion in the Monaſtery of ſaint Rufus, where hee was called firſt to bee Prior, then Abbot of the houſe, whereupon it fortuned that for ſerious occaſions of the Church commended to his charge hee went to the Apoſtolike Sea, and hauing fully finiſhed all his buſines, and now intending to returne, Pope Eugenius of bleſſed memory retayned him there, and by conſent of his brethren, did conſecrate him Biſhop of Alba. A while after, ſeeing his vertues and wiſedome, hee deſigned him Legate a Latere of the Apoſtolike Sea into Norwaye to preach the faith in that Prouince, and purchaſe to Almighty God their miſdebelieuing ſoules, where hee like a worthie and diſcreete ſteward and diſciple of Chriſt, diligently inſtructed that rude and barbarous nation in the Chriſtian lawe and Eccleſiaſtical ordinances. After by the diuine prouidence vpon the death of Eugenius and preferment of Anaſtacius to the Papal throne, hee returned to his mother the holy Church of Rome, leauing behind him peace to the kingdome, lawes to the barbarous, tranquility to the Churches, order and diſcipline to the Cleargie, and a people acceptable to God and fruitfull in good workes. Within a ſhorte tyme after dyed Anaſtatius, and the Biſhops and Cardinals aſſembling together in ſaint Peeters Church by the diſpenſation of the diuine counſell, ſpeedily choſe him Pope, and with great acclamation of the Cleargie and layetie, as a man elected by Almighty God (although hee laboured with all his power to auoyde it) they inthronized him in the papal chaire, calling him Adrian the fourth* 3. Non.

All that followeth is collected out of Card. Baronius.

Pope Eugenius Adrian Biſhoppe of Alba.

Adrian Apoſtle of Norwaye.

Pope Anaſtacius.

Pope Adrian

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The praise of Pope Adrian.

Decemb. An. Dom. 1156. He was a man of singular benignity, meeke and patient, learned in the Greeke and Latine tongues, eloquent in speech, a perfect Orator, very skillfull in Church musicke, a famous preacher, seldome angrie, willing to pardon, bountifull in beestowing, a greate Almesmā, and for demeanour and beehauiour renowned. Thus much out of the Vaticane library. Now to showe that hee esteemed his honor a burden, his dignity a misery, and that hee would neuer haue vndergone the weighty charge of this supreme authority, but only to satisfie the will of almighty God, I doe heere recite his owne wordes spoken to that worthie Iohn of Salusbury in Polichrati lib. 8. cap. 23. Hee confessed hee found in that high estate soe great tribulations, as in comparison of them all his former bitter aduersitys, seemed swecte and pleasing; Hee sayd, the seate of the Romane Pope was a thorny throne, beegirt with most sharpe spurres, of that huge weyght, as it was able to presse, to bend, yea breake in peeces the strongest shoulders, and but that (said hee) I will not struggle against the diuine prouidence, I would I had neuer gon out of my native soyle of England, or else euer lurked in my poore Cell of saint Rufus, rather then to bee plunged in these extreame difficultyes: yea hee professed that in all his ascentes from his solitarie cloyster to the supreame heygth of the Papacy hee found noe contentment or pleasure; yea (quoth hee) god hath stretched out my whole life beetweene the anuile and the hammer; but now (if it pleaseth his diuine goodnes) let him supporte with his almighty hād the burdē that hee hath imposed on my infirmity, or otherwise it is intollerable. Thus hee teacheth from the highest throne of this world to flye honors; thus hee preacheth from the greatest eminency to all Potentates not to repose themselues in glory, riches, and pleasures, which are but the shadowes of their seates, but deepely to consider the charge, that by reason of their authority they vn-

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dergoe, which is to employ their vttermost forces to honor Almighty god in the ryghtwous gouerment of the people subiected to their powers, for otherwise Potentes potenter punientur. Nether would I euer haue dilated my selfe soe farre in praise of Pope Adrian, but that some of our Chronickles ignorantly, others willfully omitt his commendation. They confesse hee conuerted Norwaye, and gaue the dominion of Ireland to the kinges of England; but as the first was only for enlargeing the kingdome of Christ soe was the last, as you may see in his Epistle to Henry the second. Now craueing pardo for my digression in the prayse of this man, the glory of our nation, who prefered god beefore his contrey and all, I will returne to the matter.

Frederick kingeof the Romanes a perpetual enemy of the Church.

Fredericke king of the Romanes in his first entrance into his royaltie, began impiously to encrease his dominion, with the suppression of the Church; and by how much his power was the greater (for hee commanded all Germany, and mightily preuayled in Italie) so much the more was he enabled to mischeife. This wasting flame, which soe much endangered the whole Christian world, shewed it selfe as a litle sparke in the raigne of Pope Eugenius, gathered strength by the conniuancy of his successor Anastacius, began to waste the power of our noble Adrian, and lastly fired Alexander the third out of Italie, and deuoured for the time all his iurisdiction in Germany, and had not Christ maintayned his Church against the gates of Hell, France, England, Spayne, with all the rest had beene ruinated. The original was the first yeare of his raigne, in the Church of Magdeburghe the Metropolitane of Saxony, where vpon the death of the Archbishop, a dissention arysing about choosing his successor, they appealed to Fredericke then residing in Saxonie, who not able to compose the controuersie, perswaded the Deane and Chapter of Magdeburghe to accept of Guicman Bishop of Cicens, a noble yong gentleman to gouerne their Church, pretending that when such que-

The original of the discord beetweene the Church and the Emperor.

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stions arose, the king with aduice of his counsell ought to dispose therin, nether was any Bishop in that case to bee consecrated, till hee had receaued his authority from the kingly scepter. But all this was a false pretence, for it lay not in the kinges or Emperors power, causelesslye to translate Bishoppes from seate to seate, without assent of the Apostolike Sea, which holy Pope Eugenius rightly considering, with singular constancy withstood the kinges vnlawfull attempt, sharpely reproouing the Bishoppes of Germany, *that laboured for him, because they rather sought to flatter their prince in concurring with his sinne, then to please God; and this did hee not only with his learned and pious Epistle, but also vehemently persued the same by his Legates. But Eugenius preuented by death, leste all to his successour Anastacius, a man of a gentle and yeelding disposition: For not withstanding his Legate was disgracefully abused by Fredericke, and ended his life in his returne home, hee neuertheleste ratifyd the kinges election, and granted Gurcman his Pall; whereupon Fredericke declining from his religious zeale increased yeere by yeere in obstinacy against the Church. And Anastacius not long after departing the world our countreyman beeing instantly elected by the name of* Adrian *the fourth, found the kinges insolency much strengthned against him by his predecessors facility of nature. In the beeginning of his Popedome hee was troubled with the inuasions of William king of Cecil, wherefore against his temporall sword, hee drewe his spirituall sword and excommunicated him. Fredericke also king of the Romans with his suddaine approach towarde the Citty terrifyed him; whereupon hee sent Legates to treate with Fredericke, and Fredericke likewise two Embassadors, being Archbishoppes, to the Pope; which Legates and Embassadors meeting together, went ioyntly to Fredericke at Viturbi: where first Octauian, afterwards that firebrand of Christendome, began*

Pope Adriā assaulted by the King of Cecil.

The king of Cecill excōmunicated.

Pope Adriā terrifyed by Fredericke king of the Romanes.

Octauian enemy to the Pope ād

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to shewe his turbulent spirit. This man nobly borne in Rome, and descended from the Earles of Tuscan, Preist, Cardinall of the title of Saint Cecill, like another Iudas euer endeauouring what hee could against the Pope, the Church, and Colledg of Cardinalls, beeing dismissed from his Holynes, in regard hee sought to raise a sedition by the Scysmatickes, intruded himselfe without commission to confound the peace, which was now to bee concluded by the mediation of the Legates and Archbishoppes, beetweene the Pope and Fredericke: but beeing sharpely reproued by his brethren the Legates, hee was for this time with shame, represt: and soe suppressed the poyson which since he vomited. This beeing, thus ouerblasted, the king in a great and most solemne assembly of his nobilsty and knightes, caused his fealty to bee sworne by his deputy to the Pope. Which was to preserue the Pope and Cardinalles with their state, and not to doe any iniury, or suffer any iniury to bee donne to them or theires; and if any should offer to wrong them, hee would withstand it to his vttermost power, and if wronges were soe cõmitted, hee would by all meanes redresse them: Whereupon the Pope beeing satisfyd, resolued to inuest him with the Emperiall crowne, and a day and place was for their meeting appointed. But the king neglecting to hould the Popes styrrup (a custome formerly vsed by the Emperors in honor of the Apostles saint Peeter and saint Paule (as was presently made manifest by authenticall recorde, and otherwise) the Cardinalls with drewe themselues to places of safety, and the Pope beeing left in the power of Frederick, and his army, would not for all this peryll admit the king to the kisse of peace, vntill hee proformed this his duty to him and the Church; which the king in the end, seeing the ancient practise thereof, with humility condescended vnto. This Master Camden in his suruey of England noteth of Pope Adrian, which hee beeing expert in historys could

The Emperours oathe of fealty to the Pope and Church.

The cause and custome of the Emperors houlding the Popes styrrup.

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not choose but knowe to haue bin donne by diuers Emperors and kinges to sundry Popes. But to the purpose: the king proceeding to his imperial coronation, was like to haue bin preuented by the Romane Arnoldistes (a scysmaticall faction then swaying in the Common-wealth) had not Pope Adrian with his counsell and power made way to him for his coronation in Rome, where hee receaued, with all ceremonyes from the Pope, the Crowne and Emperiall ornamentes: Which finished, the seditious Romanes with a sharpe fight assaulted the Germanes, in which conflict many beeing killed, the Germanes in the end obtained the victory with the slaughter, and captiuity of their aduersaries, wherein the Pope shewed himselfe to his Citticens a pious father, for hee neuer left sollicitinge the Emperour vntill hee had procured their release. Soe passing from the Emperour, who by this perfect or politicke amity concluded with the Pope, found thereupon good successe in the warres which hee vndertooke in his returne towards Germany: let vs see what beefell to William king of Cecyll after hee was excommunicated. The king incensed heere with, commanded the Princes of his army to lay a streyght siege to Beneuent, the Popes familiar courte of residence, to repell which iniury, the Pope excited the mightyest Earle in his kindome, Robert de Bassauyll his cousen-german, with many others of the nobility to make warre vpon him, moreouer hee called in diuers others exiled, and spoyled of their goods by the king and his father, as Robert of Surent a Prince of Campany and Earle de Rupe canina, with others renowned for parentage and power, to returne into their Countrey and recouer their lost possessions, promising them the assistance of the Romane Sea: lastly hee solicited the Emperors both of Rome and Constantinople to inuade the kingdome of Cecyll: whereupon the Emperor of Constantinople as strong in men as money tooke Hadrant a sea-

Frederick croumed Emperor by Pope Adria.

Beneuent beesieged by the king of Cecill.

The great cõbination in war of Emperors & others against the the king of Cecyll.

townes

wonne Apulia, the Cittyzens yeelding vnto him. Earle Robert also with his followers, what for the loue of him, and hatred of the king, violently wonne Tarunt and Barum two renowned Metropolitane Seas, with all the sea coastes to the very boundes of his kindome: The famous and worthy peeres the Prince of Capua and Count Andrew chalenged all Campany commonly named the land of labour, euen to Salern, Naples and saint Germans: soe as the whole region was in a mighty combustion. Frederick Emperour of Rome encamping his army about the coastes of Ancon, endured soe great a mortality among his souldiers, as loseing his most puissant lordes, scarce the tenth man remayned aliue, whereupon beeing notable to retayne his powers that were willfully bent to returne into their countrey, though vnwilling, was ready to departe. Now the king of Cecyl thus beegirt with assaultes, retyring himselfe with dew repentance and all humility to obedience, sent the Electe of Catana with the choyseste of his noble attendantes as far as Salerne towards the Pope, submissiuely beeseeching absolution from this excommunication, and promising to doe homage and sweare Fealty to his Holines, and withall to restore all the Churches of his kingdome with ample liberty, and giue therefore three Castles called Palud, Montfuscal, and Muron, with their appurtenantes for euer to the Romane Church, offering to subdewe the rebellious Romanes to the Popes subiection, and if hee could recouer the grace and fauor of the Pope and Church of Rome, would beestow on them so much money as the Emperour of Constantinople promised: The Pope therefore assured that all theese should bee performed, was most willing to embrace theese conditions, beeing soe honorable and profitable to the Church: but the Cardinals that were of the Roman Emperors faction, beeing too singular in their owne conceites, withstood and reiected all this, and did afterwards often the like to the Church of Romes exceeding dommage.

The king of Cecyl ready to submit himselfe to the Pope.

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For hereupon the next yeere a world of miseryes ensued, in regard the king of Cecyl gathering a most powerfull army in Cecill and Calabria, with greate iourneys marched into Apulia, where, Prince Robert heetaking him selfe to flight, hee ouerthrewe about Brundusium at the first onset the Grecian Hoste, casting their Captayns captiues into chaynes, and enriching himselfe with their treasures, and bringing the whole countrey into subiection, hee went forward and beesieged in Benenent the Pope, with the Cardinals, where they and all the City being ouerwhelmed in calamityes Adrian was constrayned for redeeming himselfe, the Clergy and inhabitants, to receiue from the victorious king a peace upon most vniuste termes: neither could the Pope, inuironed with these streyghts, include his associates with in the precincts of these conditions, but thus left to themselues, were forced to seeke forraine countryes for refuge, where the Prince of Capua more miserable then the rest, falling into the handes of the kinges freinde was violently depriued of his eyes, and throwne into perpetuall imprisonnement.

Anno 2. Hadr. Pa. The king of Cecyl ouerthrowing his enemys besiegeth the Pope.

The Pope constrained to craue peace vppon vniuste conditions.

But this attempt of the king of Cecyl against the Church, was by gods vnsearchable iudgement seuerely punished, for in the second generation was his Norman race of kinges rooted out, and the Crowne transferred to the Swouians his ancient capital enemys: Moreouer during his owne life, there neuer ceased rebellious tyrans to ryse against him, whom although hee conquered, yet like Hydras heades they still encreased, vntill inthralling him in handes, they crowned Roger his sonne in his throne, and afterwards, reskued by the people out of captiuity, hee killed his owne child to recouer his kingdome, soyling his purple robe with his sonnes blood: lastly Marius his Amirant, the cheife contryuer of this mischeife, ended his dayes, with a most cruel death.

Godes reuenge vpon the king of Cecyl for oppressing the Church.

But this peace so established with the King of Cecyll

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very much displeased the Emperor Fredericke, because the Pope making of this miserable calamity some commodity, had got hereby the king to strengthen him against the Emperour, if hee should attempt any thing against him or the Church; for otherwise the Emperour had bin euer of power to haue commaded the Cleargie. Hereupon grew the dissention among the Cardinals, some fauouring the Emperour, others this vnion with Cecil, which discord after Adrians death bred the terrible scysme that rente Christendome in sunder.

The Emperour. The Empe-rour displea-sed at the peace with Cecyl.

The Cardi-dinalles de-uided.

The Emperour a trangressor of the Ecclesiasticall Canons thought to awe the Pope, that hee should not correct but condescend to his affayres. For to omitt the dismission of his wife, and the mariage of an other, beecause it is a matter controuerted, in regard they were within degrees of consanguinity: I will come to Edward Bishop of London, who, passing in his returne from the See Apostolike through the Emperours dominitions, was assaulted with naked swordes, robbed of all his goods, and violently detayned a prisoner: whereupon the Pope wrote to the Emperour, requiring the Bishoppes releasse, and condigne punishement for the offendors. But the Emperour neglected all, whereby the malefactors being encourraged, withheld the Bishop still in captiuity. The Pope not enduring soe greate a wrong and indignity, addressed two Legates, the one Rowland Priest Cardinal of the tytle of saint Marke, Chancellor of the Romane Church, afterwards Alexander the third (whose very person in this case yelded matter to the ensuing dissention) the other Bernard Priest, Cardinal of the tytle of saint Clement; sending by them letters, wherin, hauing expostulated this heynous and sacrilegious offence, with the impunity therof as yet tollerated, hee descended to the benefittes lately conferred by the Church on the Emperour, namely that hee receaued the fullnes of his dignity and honor, together with the ensigne

An. 3. Had. 4.

Edward Bi-shop of Lõ-don impri-soned by the Emperiales was à cause of dissention betweene the Pope and Emperour.

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of his Emperiall Crowne from the Popes handes, nor yet did it repent him if hee had conferred greater benefitts on him, considering what singular augmentations and commodityes might by him bee rendred to the Church againe. These wordes the princes of the Empyre tooke to the harte, as if the Emperour should receaue from the Pope the Empyre of Rome and kingdome of Italy, remembring withall certayne verses and a picture in Rome made to that purpose, which beeing offensiue to the Germanes, Pope Adrian *had beefore commanded to bee abolished, leaste soe vayne a trifle should otherwise breede matter of discord among Princes: But all these now concurring in one, and beeing tumultuously argued among the prime nobility, adding still fire to the fewel, one of the Legates is said to haue answered;* And from whom hath hee his Empire, if not from my Lord the Pope? *At which wordes one of them, and as it was reported* Otto Count Palantine *of Bauaria, outragious in anger, was drawing his sword, threatning to kill him, had not the Emperour interposing his authority, appeased the broyle, commanding the Legates to bee safe conducted to theire lodging, and the next morning early to departe, and goe on straight to Rome, neither declyning on the right nor left hand to the Palaces of Bisoppes, or Monasterys of Abbottes. The Emperour also prosecuted his indignation conceaued against the Pope and Legates for this cause, by sending letters, signifying these wordes, and his displeasure vehemently distasting the same euery where, to his Prelates and Princes; soe whetting their myndes to execute with him the malice, which vpon the next occasion offered, he violently pursued, venting the very bowelles of his mother the holy Church, yea the Clergy from the Church, by Octauians scysme. Thus hee diuulged the wrong offered him by the Pope and Legates, concealing the reason of the Legation, beeing for the deliuery of a vertuous English Bishop re-*

The Emperour and Emperialles vehemently incensed against the Pope and Cardinalles.

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strayned in his dominions impiously and vniustly in pryson. Hee sent out also his Emperiall Edict that no Clearke or Religious man should trauail to Rome, faynedly pretending it was to exempt them from charges, and that the religious should not leaue their Monasticall discipline, and so layd watch and ward to debarre them. The Legates on the other syde returning home, appealed to the Pope for redresse of the iniuryes they sustayned; whereupon the courte of Cardinalls was deuided, for some fauouring the Emperour imputed the fault to the Legates careleſſe folly, others aggreed with the Pope, who wrote heereupon to the Bishoppes of Germany, perſuading them to recall the Emperour from his sinfull proceedinges, and cauſe Reynold his Chancellor and the Count Palantine, who had openly abuſed the Legates, and vomited blaſphemyes againſt the Church of God to make therefore publicke ſatisfaction, intimating alſo by them to the Emperour, that if hee would rebell againſt the Church, it was all in vaine, ſince shee was founded on ſoe firme a rocke, as neither hee nor hell it ſelfe could euer ouerthrowe her. The Bishoppes blinded with affection and feare to their Emperour, confeſſed, that although ſaint Peeters ship could not bee drowned, yet they themſelues were neuertheleſſe shaken with this tempeſt, and reporting the Emperours Apologie of his regal power, beeſought the Pope to mollify and ſweeten thoſe wordes of his letter which the Emperour and Germans could not diſgeſt, and ſoe certifying the abſence of Count Palantine in warres, by reaſon whereof hee could not cleere himſelfe, and that Reynold the Chancellor was in the opinion of all, innocent, they ended their temporiſing letter. Wherupon Adrian to pleaſe them ſought to pacify the Emperour.

An. 4. Had. 4. The Pope indeuoreth

Pope Adrian labouring to appeaſe the Emperour, ſent Henry preiſt Cardinall of ſainct Nereus and Achylleus, and Hyacinth Deacon Cardinall of ſaint Mary in the Gra-

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to pacifie the Emperour.

cian schoole, men practised in the world and affaires of the Courte, with letters to the Emperour tending to that purpose, who to shew their greater humility, went out of their way to meete Reynold the Chancellor, and Otto Count Palantine, the Emperours Embassadours, declaring to them the cause of their Legation, beeing for a peaceable treaty to the honor of the Empyre, they departed. Their iourney thorowe the streyghtes of the montaynes beeing publickly knowne, and also how the Emperour was offended with the Pope, styrred up diuers (who were desyrous to enrich themselues with the spoyles of others, and hoped vnder the coulor of this enmytie to patronise their rapine, as a thing seruiceable to the State) to make a prey of the Legates; among whom the Counte Fredericke and Henry, men in those partes violent and powerfull, not only robbed and imprisoned the Legates, but also Albert Bishop of Trent comming along with them for their safe conduct. The Legates lay in bandes till leauing a pledge they were discharged, and the diuine prouidence did set free the Archbishop: But the noble Duke of Baioaria and Saxony for his reuerence to the Roman Church, and the honor of the Empyre reuenges this vilany, enforcing the Countes to deliuer the pledge, and with constraint of deserued calamityes to yeild and giue satisfaction. The Legates comming with these difficultyes vnto the Emperour at Augusta, presented with humility the Popes letters, wherin hee interpreted the meaning of his woordes, which were, that hee conferred the Emperial crowne vpon him as a benefitte, alleageing that conferring, was imposing, and a benefit a good Acte deriued of bonum, soe as in crowneing him, it was to bee reputed a good acte done vnto him. Thus the Pope by writing, and the Legates by word of mouth, complying as farre as they could to please him, the Emperour seemed content, and the seedes of peace were sowed, which falling on stones, brought out no fruite.

The Legates robbed and imprisoned by the Emperialistes.

A peace beetweene the Pope & Emperour.

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For Pope Adrian beesides the intollerable and sacrilegious iniuryes offered to his Legates, was vrged with encrochments and insultations of the purueyors for the Emperours stables, and oppressions by the Lieuetenants of the Emperiall Castles, and lastly beecause the Bishoppes and Abbattes as well as the Layety had acknowledged his Royaltyes. Wherefore Adrian condemning his ingratitude sharpely reprehended him. Frederick in the meane time, vpon the vacancy of the Bishoppricke of Rauenna, hauing designed Guido sonne of Count Blanderateus to enioy the place, and sending two Bishoppes one after an other to the Pope for confirmation thereof, receaued repulse, beecause the noble yong man beeing Subdeacon of the Roman Church, and a hopefull member thereof, Adrian would not dimisse him thence. The Emperour disappointed of his expectation, and therupon inceensed, sought first by disgracing the Pope to reuenge himselfe; wherefore hee caussed his Notary in styling the Pope, to vse the singular number, and preferre the Emperiall name beefore his; which Adrian not only blamed in him as insolency, but also put him in minde that contrary to his fealty sworne to the Romane Church, hee required homage and fealty of Bishoppes, beeing princes of the same Church, counselling him to desist from these vnlawfull vsurpations, least otherwise God should depriue him of his lawefull dominions. Frederick obiecteth, that Pope Siluester receaued from Constantine the Emperour his temporalityes: wherunto is answered, how this present generation of Emperours cannot derive their authority as descending to them from their Ancestors, but from the election of preceedent Popes, and coronation receaued from them. Hereupon ensued deepe suspitions on all sides, with vncertaine rumors, as if the Pope did secretly incite the Milanoyes and other Cittyes, to shake of the Emperiall yoake: yet Henry Cardinall of the tytle of sainte Nereus and

An. 5. Had. 4.

New controuersies rayseth beetweene the Pope and Emperour.

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Archylleus, the late Legate, and Eberard *Bishop of* Rabenberg, *a man of great vertue learning and wisedome, and the Emperours entyreſt counſellor, indeauoured (as by their mutuall letters appeareth) to appeaſe theſe turbulent windes which rayſed the warres of diſſention. Afterwards there were meetinges, beefore the Emperour, of Legates and Princes for compoſing a peace, which was neuer likely to proceede, the demaundes on either ſide beeing ſoe repugnant, and the Emperour breathing out his diſcontentment for the league contryued with the king of Cecyll.*

Pope Adriã dyeth.

But God ended theſe treatyes with the death of Adrian the fourth. And now after theſe light skyrmiſhes inſtantly enſued the terrible battel of Scyſme that shooke the whole ſtate of Chriſtendome. Yet beefore I enter into ſoe tragicall a diſcourſe, I craue pardon to ſpend a few worde about the death and prayſe of our Adrian, *who falling ſicke of a Squinſey at* * Anagni *in the Kalendes of September departed this life. Wherein I cannot chuſe but wonder at Maſter* Camden, *who preferring a tale of a fryuolous ſcyſmaticall author beefore a knowne truth, wryteth that hee dyed beeing choaked with a flye; a falshood diſcouering it ſelfe; for his author ſayth that after hee had excommunicated the Emperour, drinking at a fountaine a flye entred his mouth, and cleaued ſoe to his throate, as noe arte could remoue it till hee yeelded vp the ghoſte. But none can euer proue that* Adrian *excommunicated the Emperour, wherefore wee may ſee that one fable draweth on another. Now paſſing from this to his renowned actes. It is recorded for euer to the world, and noe doubt regiſtred among his bleſſed workes in heauen, that hee greatly augmented the buildinges and repayred the ruines of the Roman Sea, and with his owne expences inlarged the poſſeſſions, and encreaſed the patrymony of ſainct Peeter. More-ouer that hee deſtroyed a denne of theeues, erecting vpon his owne coſte in the ſame place a caſtle*

* Anagni.

The commendable actes of Pope Adriã

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caſtle to defend the countrey from their inuaſions. And for which this realme should euer extoll him, hee confirmed to our kings the dominion of Ireland: And all this hee did in a shorte raigne of fower yeeres eight monthes and fower and twenty dayes. Laſty aboue all, hee left to his ſucceſſors one admirable example, which is, that hee neuer beeſtowed any thing vpon his family or freindes, but made god and his Church the heire of all: in ſo much as his mother ſuruyuing him, was maynt ayned by the charity of the Church of Canterbury, as Iohn of Salisbury reporteth out of an Epiſtle written by Pope Alexander to ſaint Thomas.

After Pope Adrian was buryed in the Church of ſaint Peeter, Alexander the third was choſen his lawfull ſucceſſor. Hee was by byrth of Sene in Tuſcany, his father Ranuſius, his name Rowland, who beeing firſt a Cannon in the Church of Piſa, and a Clearke of greate accompt, was much eſteemed by all, and called to the Church of Rome by bleſſed Eugenius, who knowing him worthie of high preferment, aduanced him firſt to bee Deane of ſainte Coſmus and Damianus, then preiſt Cardinall of the title of ſaint Marke, and laſtly Chancellor of the Apoſtolike Sea. Hee was an Orator of ſingular eloquence, in ſacred and humane learning well inſtructed; and ſufficiently approued in the explanation of both, as alſo excerciſed in ſcholaſtical doctrine: Moreouer hee was wiſe, gratious, patient, mercifull, meeke, ſober, chaſte, charitable in almeſgiuing, and euer ready to execute all workes pleaſing to allmighty god. On the day beefore the Nones of September, the biſhoppes and Cardinals beeing aſſembled together in ſainct Peeters Church, and hauing three dayes deliberated about the election, did all, excepting only Octauian of the tytle of ſaint Cecill, Iohn of the tytle of ſaint Martine, and Guido of the tytle of ſaint Caliſtus, beeing three preiſtes Cardinalls, with mutual conſent ioyntly choſe Rowland

An. 1. Alex 3 Alexander the third choſe Pope.

His aſcent.

His commendation

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the Chanceller Pope, by the name of Alexander the thyrd, whereunto concurrd the approbation of the Cleargy and people of Rome. Which notwithstanding Iohn and Guido two of the Cardinals aforenamed following Octouians faction, willfully and wickedly named him afterwardes Pope. The bishoppes of Ostia and other Seas, together with the preistes and Deacons Cardinals, did by the handes of the same Deacons according to the ancient custome of the Church, inuest with the papal robe and ornament, Alexander, although hee refused, excused, and by all meanes sought to auoyd it.

Octauian violētly inuaded the Popedome

Whereupon Octauian whose ambition had long aymed at the Apostolike throne, seeing himselfe defeated of his aspiring expectation, brake out into that audacious fury, as with his owne handes hee violently pulled the papal ornament (as if it were obtayned by stealth) from Alexanders necke, and with tumultuous outrage attempted to cary it away: But one of the Senators there present, vpon the sight of soe heynous an acte, incensed with a virtuous zeale, assayling this notorious offendor, and tooke the papal cloake from him: Whereupon Octauian touched inwardly with exceeding greefe, cast his eyes on his Chapelaine, who came readily prepared for the purpose, frantickly calling and beckning to him, to giue him instantly the like papal cloake that hee brought with him; which beeing presently donne, catching the Cloake, hee bowed downe his head, and from the handes of his Chaplayne, and such an other ordinary Clearke (a shamefull thing to speake) impudently assumed the papal cloake. But this soe rashly handled fell out soe ridiculously, as hee turned the fore parte beehind, God making him thus a derysion to the beehoulders, and seeking to mend all, hee made it worse, for quite beesides himselfe in haste, missing his

* Caputium

** hoode hee reuersed his cloake; a trayteuous showe of a discordered action, and a manifest token of his reprobation.*

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In this rebellious proceeding were the gates of the Church throwne open, which were before locked vp by the Senators, and an armed troope whom hee had with money mustred together, with naked swordes came rustling in, running speedily to assiste this scysmaticke. See in place of bishoppes and Cardinals, hee was inuironed with routes of souldiers. The Clergy beehaulding this execrable acte, the like whereof was neuer seene, fearing they should bee enforced by the aduerse power to adore this exalted Idol, retyred themselues with their elected Pope into a safe munition of the same Church, where Octauian with assent of some of the senators, whō hee had corrupted with bribes, kept them streyghtly with a diligent and armed watche and warde for nyne dayes, soe beesieged and restrayned, as they could not by any meanes possible come forth.

Pope Alexander & the Cardinales restrayned of their liberty by Octauian.

But the people of Rome exceedingly crying out against this intolerable abuse, and extending their vttermost forces against those senators, who were authors of this mischeife, the Cleargy with their elected Pope were deliuered out of this thraldome: yet malice soe preuayled, as they were instantly by the same senators, beeing wonne thereunto by rewards, cast into another more streyght and close imprisonment beyond Tyber, where beeing almost three dayes in hould, the whole Citty rose to redresse so greate an enormity, and such an apparant treason, yea women and children detesting Octauian, exclaymed against him, calling him an accursed man, an Hereticke, *reiecting him, reuyling him, and thirsting after Alexander, in so much as to his very face they contemned and condemned him. Thus was all in a horrible combustion. The Cleargie mourned, the Iudges lamented, old men wasted in greife, and all men were astonished with amazement. Wherefore the Citty no longer enduring such an outragious rebellion, came with* Hector Frangipane *and others of*

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Alexander and the Cardinales restored to liberty.

the nobility to the place where the Pope and Cardinals were in streyght custody, compelling those disorderly senators to caste open the prison gates, and suffer Alexander and his followers to departe in free liberty. Thus where they by the meritts of saints Peeter and saint Paule delivered from theire persecutor, and passing through the Citty with acclamations and ringing of belles, the whole army of horse and foote, with the kinghtes of Rome accompanyng them, they came by Goddes assistance on saint Mathews Eue to Nympha; where the bishoppes and Cardinals, Preistes, Deacons, Abotts and Pryors, with the Iudges, Aduocats and other officers, together with the nobility, and a number of the Romanes beeing present; Pope Alexander amidst the quires of exultation, with inuocation of the holy Ghost, was consecrated high bishop by the hands of the bishop of Ostia (to whom that office only appertayneth) and according to the solemnity of the Church inuested in the kingdome with his triple crowne.

Alexander consecrated and crowned Pope.

Octauian on the other syde residing at saint Peeters, the two Cardinals Iohn and Guido blinde with their hellish error, would not reclayme themselues from their damnable presumption, but with headlong rebellion honored their erected Idol, and leauing the Churches vnity, fell at his feete; and hee the shadowe of Antichrist, soe exalted aboue himselfe, vsurped the Chayre, as if hee had bin lawfull Pope; which many with weeping eyes and exceeding sorrowe beehoulding, remembred what Pope Anastacius as it were profecying, foretold him in these wordes: Accursed and excommunicated sonne, thou shalt neuer haue this papal ornament, which thou soe much thirstest and impudently seekest, but to thyne owne ruine, and the confusion of many. And when hee had laboured for fower weekes space, and wearyed himselfe, his military bandes, and great kindred to assemble bishoppes for his forged installement; in the end the Bishop of Melphitans fugitiue, the*

Octauians scisme.

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Bishop of Ferentyne Pope Alexanders aduersary, and the Bishop of Tusculan who of a follower of Alexander, became now his faithles enemy, in showe consecrated, but in deede execrated Octauian. Neyther had Octauian (as himselfe afterwards openly professed) attempted a sinne soe heynous as this against the Church of God, had hee not bin thereunto animated by the fauour and power of the Emperiour; for there was sufficient proofe that hee was restrayned by an oathe of fealtie not to attempt the Popedome.

Octauian animated by the Emperor to this scisme.

In this turbulency of the state, Pope Alexander first of all found Palatine Otto and Guido Blanderan, the Emperours Embassadors to Pope Adrian, though they knewe their Maisters affection to Octauian, and his distaste of the Romane Pope, yet faynedly dissembling with him. These thinges thus passing, Alexander neuertheless with the Counsell of the Cardinales sent his Nuntios with letters to the Emperour beeing then in Lumbardy at the siege of Crema, seeking with all patience and humility to reclayme him, who swollen with pride contemned to reade the letters, and had not Duke Welphus & the Duke of Saxony dissuaded him, hee had in his madnes hanged the Nuntios; and although at the instance of the Dukes hee admitted them in the end, and did reade the letters, yet hee afforded them no fauourable answere. The relation of this scysme thus arysing vpon Adrians death, beecause it soe much disturbeth Christendome, I translated as I found it in the Annales of Cardinall Baronius, alleaged out of the booke of the Vatican: what followeth I will abridge.

Pope Alexander seeketh the Emperours fauour.

The Emperours conceaued crueltie against the Pope and Cardinales.

Alexander heereupon excommunicated Octauian, and all such as should assist him in his counterfet consecration, hauing giuen them first eyght dayes warning for reformation of their error. Hee wrote moreouer his letters to the Bishop, Cleargie and Vniuersity of Bononi, beeing men of speciall accompt for vertue and learning, and as it is

Octauian and his complices excommunicated.

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so bee thought to sundry other Churches, to declare the truth of his election, and Octauians reprobation, all which punctually agreeth with the former relation. Octauian on the other side beeing installed in his vsurped place, not vntike the diuell who endeauoureth to bee adored as God, assuming to himselfe the name of Victor, and facing his letters with apparant lyes, wrote especially to the Emperour and his inward fauorites as vpon whose power (his calling beeing not from God but man) hee principally relyed, and also to others, signifying his election or rather inuasion; where vnder a formal showe of sanctity, hee flattereth the mighty to compasse his ambitious endes. Soe likewise his Cardinals encreased now, as it seemed, with the number of two more, in all fiue as the spirits that fell with Lucifer, following Octauian, sent euery where their circuler letters, which, to showe they sauoured not God but flesh, were especially grounded vpon the league concluded in the tyme of Adrian with the king of Cecill (of which before) and hereupon diuision arysing among the Cardinales was the cause of Alexanders election, maintayning by falshoodes what they wrongfully got: wherein although they vntruly multiply Octauians Cardinales from two to nyne, yet they are enforced to confesse that fowertiene concurred in the choyse of Alexander, and soe beeing inferiour not only in vertue, but also in number they establish with their owne wordes the truth of Alexanders title which they soe wickedly opposed: For now Otto, Count Palantine, first of all for the aduancement of Octauian and the Popes ouerthrowe, entred violently into Campanie and the Patrimony of saint Peeter, seeking to subdue it: whereupon the whole colledge of Cardinalles (excepting these scysmatickes) sued for redresse to the Emperour, the cheife fauntaine of this mischeife. But noe iniustice is soe great as that which is shadowed with a couloure of iustice, which the Emperour practised: for vnder

Octauian by letters fortifyes his vsurpation.

Octauians faction in their owne letters confute themselues.

Count Otto with armes inuadeth the Popes dominion. The Cardinalles appeales to the Emperour, against Otto.

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a pretence of piety to determine this greate controuersy and conclude an vnion, hee summond Pope Alexander and Octauian to a counsell, alleaging thereof the examples of Iustinian Theodosius and Charles seruing nothing to his purpose; for these Emperours were freindes not foes to the Church, as Frederick had now, proued himselfe: they likewise summoned these Counsells vpon the Popes perswasion, or the Pope at the least assenting thereunto, but Alexander neyther perswaded nor assented; lastly matters were there controuerted, not concluded, as Alexanders election was. Thus Frederick with the Counsell of the impious would haue aduanced Octauian to serue not God, but his owne turne. Hereupon hee sent his Embassadors the Bishopes of Prage and Verdun with letters to the Pope, styling him only Rowland the Chancellor, imperiously commanding him and the Cardinales to appeare at a Counsell held at Pauy vpon the Octaues of the Epiphanie to receaue his sentence from the Cleargie there assembled. Hee likewise wrote to all the Bishoppes not only of the Empire, but also of France, England, Spayne and Hungary enioyning them all to bee then and there present to decyde this controuersy: the finall sentence whereof in his first letters hee reserued to himselfe, but after, beeing by some of more vnderstanding better instructed, hee left that to the Cleargie. In the meane time thinking to make voyd the priuiledge graunted by God vnto his Church, and to dispose of the Papacy at his owne pleasure, not as an aduocate and defendor, but as the supreme iudge of the Church, his Embassadors tracing the steppes of their Masters pride, came to the Pope at Anagnia, where in the presence of the Cardinalles and a great assembly of the Clergie and Layetie, they sate downe giuing him no reuerence at all, and there in his pallace deliuered their embassage, showing their Lordes commission authorized with his golden seale, commanding the Pope and Cardinalles on the Churches behalfe to ap-

The Emperour summoneth Alexãder and Octauiã to a counsell.

The Emperour summoneth all adiacent kingdomes to appeare at his counsel to bee held at Pauy.

The Emperours Embassãdors vse no reuerence to the Pope.

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The Emperour styleth Octauian Pope, and Alexander Rowland the Chancellor.

peare at Pauy beefore his presence. Whereupon the Pope and Cardinalles discouered on eyther side apparant dangers, heere threatning persecution of a mighty Emperour, there the ruine of the Churches liberty; againe hee named in his letters Octauian Pope, and Alexander but Rowland the Chancellor: neuertheleſſe in the end, the zeale and grace of God diſperſing theyr feares, they reſolued all in defence of the Churches liberty and vnity, and for theyre obedience to the Pope (if occaſion were) to ſacrifice theyre liues. The Emperours Embaſſadors inſtantly vrging them for an anſwere, the Pope ſayd: That aboue all Princes they would honor the Emperour as the Churches Aduocate, ſoe long as they diſhonored not God, but when they could not pleaſe the one, without offence of the other, then they would abſolutely preferre God. Hee marualed much hee denyd him the reuerent reſpect due to his place, and ſummoned a counſell without his authority, and aboue all that hee would cyte him to appeare before that Conuenticle. The priuiledge of the Church graunted by Chriſt and continued from ſaint Peeter to that preſent age, hath euer bin, that in Cauſes Eccleſiaſticall the ſupreame iudgement was euer in the Church, and the Church it ſelfe neuer iudged by any: ſince therefore hee who ought to defend the Church, did now offend it, and in contemning the Church diſparaged his mother, hee could not but admire it. For appearing at his Courte, the Canonicall tradition forbad him. And ſince meaner prelates in matters ſpirituall doe gouerne theyre princes, it were intolerable in him to ſuffer the authority of his place, which was purchaſed with the blood of Chriſt, through his puſilanimity or ignorance to bee ſubiected to the temporall power. Wherefore as his Predeceſſors had endured death for the Churches liberty, ſoe was hee ready to ſpend his blood in her cauſe. The Embaſſadors offended with his anſwere contumeliously departed, comming to Signia adored the

The Pope and Cardinalles reſolue to dye in defence of the Church.

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the Idoll Octauian; and soe did Count Otto the Palatine whom the Emperour had sent with his Germanes towards the Citty; which exceedingly puffed vp the pryde of this Archhereticke, not considering that scysme, though at the first it flourysheth, yet after a while it vanisheth. Thus Fredericke by his Embassadors accepted of Octauian, wherefore Alexander had reason to except against Fredericke as no indifferent Iudge. The Emperour for aduancement of this Antipope sought to drawe other kinges into his faction, and first vehememtly attempted King Henry of England, but in vaine, for Arnulphus Bishop of Lexouy, a very learned man, and of great estimation with the king, had soe informed him, as hee preuented Fredericke, and although there was a firme league of freindship beetweene them, yet would king Henry neuer bee induced to yeelde to this scysme, but only suppressed, till matters were more ripened, his proclamation for publishing Pope Alexander, suffering all his subiectes in the meane time to maintayne his right. Alexander also vpon the aduice of the Bishop of Lexouy sent his Legates a latere to the realmes of Spayne and France, and likwise to the Emperour of Constantinople and king of Hungary, to make knowne his lawfull election, and the wrong hee susteyned by this presumptuous Scysmaticke. Whereupon Lewys the most Christian king of France (a contrey neuer defyled with scysme) together with Henry king of England receaued Pope Alexander as theyr father and pastor of theyr soules; moreouer the kinges of Spayne, Cecyll and Ierusalem and the Emperour of Constantinople, with the Patriarches, Bishoppes, Prynces, Cleargie and Layetie did all acknowledg him the Catholike successor of Peeter: Only Frederick with his complices and these fewe scysmaticall Cardinalles, the vnlearned children of Belial, obstinate still in theyr errour, remayning neuertheless the cruell persecutors of him and the Church. Neyther was this vnpunished in Frederick,

The Emperours Embassadors and Otto adore Octauian.

The Emperour sought to drawe the King of England into his faction.

The King of England faithfull to Alexander.

The Bishop of Lexouy most industruous in assisting Alexander.

All Chrystendome boesides Frederick & the Emperialles accept of Alexander.

Frederick vnfortunate

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after his fall from the Church.

for euen from the very beeginning of this scysme, his successes altered, and of a victorious Emperour hee beecame now often vanquished, God endeuoring by this discipline to correct him. The Popes Legates who went to the kinges of France and England were encountred with some difficultyes, because the Polititians of both kindomes beeing affected to theyr aduersaryes, when they could not heerein alter theyr kinges resolutions, laboured to deferre the acceptance of Pope Alexander, tyll matters were more fully determynd; but the Legates with theyr vertue, wisedome, and exemplar liues ouercame these assaultes, and the king of France referring all to the king of England, the king of England drew England, France, Spayne, Ireland and Norwaye to Alxanders obedience. And in the kindome of Ierusalem allbeit is whas some wat cũtrouerted, becausse Octauian had there in former tymes won some affection, yet preferring the loue of God beefore natures disposition they yeelded to the truth, and embraced the lawfull Pope.

The king of England draweth England, France, Spayne, Ireland and Norwaye to the Popes obedience.

In the yeere of our lord 1160. was held the Conuenticle at Pauy, but adiourned from the Octaues of the Epyphany to the Purification of our Blessed Lady. William of Newberry our Countreyman wryteth: That this controuersy (considering the multitude that chose Alexander, and the smale number that elected Octauian) might easily haue bin ended, had not Frederick hated Alexander upon his old grudge to Rowland; for Rowland the Chancellor was one of them who did mediate the peace to deliuer Pope Adrian, the Cardinalles, and the Citty of Beneuent out of the handes of William king of Cecill, a matter to Frederick most distastefull, and was also one of the Legates sent to Frederick about the sacrilegious abuse offered in Germany to Edward Bishop of London, when Count Palatine in the Emperours presence had like to haue murdered one of the Legates: these thinges lay vndigested in Frederickes stomacke, which made him not endure Row-

The Conuenticle of Pauy.

Fredericks inueterate hatred to Alexander.

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land, now Alexander the thyrd. This caused him to assemble his Italians and Germanes at Pauy; in showe to determine the controuersy, but indeed to crowne Octauian his Victor with the victory, according to Newberrys opinion who lined in that age. There flocked together the Bishoppes of both Nations, with an infinite number of inferiour Prelates vpon the Emperours command, who with the Generalles of his armyes strooke a terror into theyr myndes; heerein silence were suppressed all proofes and allegations for Alexander (who discreetely absented himselfe) and what in truth was wanting on Octauians side, was artificially helped. Frederick to cast a myste before the eyes of the assembly, beegan with fasting and prayer, and then with a solemne protestation that hee hauing no authority to intermedle with spirituall matters, left all to the iudgment of the Cleargie there present, departed the place, hauing giuen them beefore examples how to proceede in electing Octauian by his Embassadors and Count Otto. After deliberation of seauen days (for this Pageant was set out with solemnity) they consented (as before was conspired) to the approbation of Octauian there present, and condemnation of Rowland, who beeing cyted refused to appeare beefore them, for by these names are they recyted by the author who fauored or feared the Emperour. Allthough the diuell in this sinfull counsell transformed himselfe into an Angel of light, sometimes with a pretexte of exceeding piety, other whyles with whole boastes of Bishoppes, preystes and Religious, yet whosoeuer considereth that Alexander was elected by fowerteene Cardinalles, and Octauian by three only; that Alexander was chosen by all the Bishops Cardinalles, Tusculan only excepted; That Alexander was consecrated by the Bishop of Ostia, and not Octauian, and Alexander established vpon these three principall foundations of the Romane papacy, and not Octauian, must needes beesides diuers

Frederick terrifyeth withpower

Frederick allureth with hypocriticall sanctity.

The Scysmatickes approue Octauian and condemne Alexander.

Three principall approbations of the Romane papacy.

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other reasons, bee inuincibly perswaded by these, that Alexander was truly preferred by God and his Church, and Octauian only bolstered out by the Emperour and the world. For no Pope can bee chosen without the Bishop of Ostia.

I should haue wondred, that soe many Bishoppes and Prelates gathered together in this vnlawfull conuenticle could soe bee ouerwhelmed in this Ægiptian darknes, as they could not see this apparant light, had I not knowne the like afterwardes in our owne countrey. But thus it is, when Bishopes feeding themselues, and not theyr flockes, run away at the sight of the Wolfe, and betray Godes cause with theyr slauish feare or flattery.

The reasons alleaged for this theyr wicked sentence against theyre supreme spirituall head were supported with the horrible periury of many eminent Clearkes, a thing most deteastable in soe holy a function: and a great argument against him, was that hee refused to bee iudged by these his subiectes, a matter contrary to Religion and all rules of gouerment. Heereupon these rebells against the Church excõmunicated the Pope out of the Church, and imitated in all pointes the actiõs of a true counsell, but still grating vpõ the old quarrell of the league with Cecill against the Empire so was the world euer predominãt. Some also pretended the cause of theyr connyuẽce or cõsent to this cõuenticle was for an vniõ beetweene the Church and the Empyre, which proued on the contrary side the originall of a tedious dissention beetweene them, and some wiser then the rest subscribed to the Conuenticle to satisfy the present necessityes of the Empyre, with reseruation of theyr sentence to the Churches more serious and further determination. The Emperour heereupon not only adored the beaste, attributing to his Idoll all honor beelonging to the papacy, as kissing his feete, boulding his styrrop, and leading his horse: but also proclaymed throughout the Empyre, that all the Prelates should accept and reuerence him as Pope, threatening

The Emperour adoreth Octauian.

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banishment for euer to such as refused it. And presently ensued the tyme to try the gold in the fire of persecution: Now was the corne and chaffe parted: For they who preferred theyr soules before theyr worldly substance, left theyr countreyes, their Churches, and all their Eccleſiaſticall dignityes, which Octauians ſcyſmaticall followers by intruſion inuaded: Soe miſerable was the face of this deformed Church. Neyther was Alexander heere with diſcomforted, but the more the perſecution preuayled, the more couragiously hee oppoſed himſelfe against the Emperour, for hee prepared to denounce iudgmẽt against him frõ his Apoſtolicke throne, hee ſummoned him to appeare, and refuſing to obey, threatened him with the ſwoard of Excommunication.

The Emperour perſecuteth all Prelates who reſiſte this ſcyſme.

Scyſmaticks vſurpe Eccleſiaſticaldignitys.

Alexander threateneth the Emperour with excommunication.

Arnold Archbishop of Mountes beeing the first who abſolutely ſubſcribed against Pope Alexander (for the Patriache reſerued his opinion to the Churches iudgment) was the firſt who ſuſteyned due punishment therefore, beeing on the Natiuity of ſaint Iohn the Baptiſt next following, moſt cruelly murdered by his owne Cittizẽs, throwne naked out as a prey for Wolues and dogges, and his body after diuers abuſes offered it, in the end ſtinking ãd ſcarce to bee knowne, by ſtealth and with great difficulty buryed. His next lawfull ſucceſſor was Conrade the Emperours kinſman, who leauing the Emperours ſcyſmaticall faction, followed Pope Alexander, and for his iuſt cauſe endured perſecution, as alſoe whole Conuentes of the Ciſtercians, who were banished for defence of Alexander. But among others was Peeter Archbishop of Tarantaſia, moſt to bee admyred, who, not withſtanding hee laboured aboue all others, in mayntaining Alexander against Octauian, was honored by the Emperour for his ſingular vertues. Thus hee and ſome others in this ruine of Bishoppes were tryed faythfull in the Churches cauſe; Octauiã on the

The Archbishop of Mountes who firſt ſubſcribed againſt Alexander, miſerablie murdered by his Cittizens.

Cõrade ſucceeding the ſcyſmatick in the Archbishoprick of Mounts left all to followe Alexander.

The Ciſtercians perſecuted for Alexander.

The Archbishop of Tarãtaſia moſt cõſtant to Alexãder, yet honored by Frederick for his ſanctity.

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Octauiá receaueth his inueſtur frō Fredericke.

The king of Englād cōſtant to Alexāder cōteneth Octauianes Nuntios.

The Archbishop of Sēnōfayth-full to Alexander, and agreat freind of ſaint Thomas.

The Cardinall of Pauy fainting in Alexanders cauſe proued ſoe to S. Thomas.

An. 1162.

S. Edward King of Englād ad Cōfeſſor canonized Whēreupō miracles were wrought.

Miracles wrought by the Archbiſhop of Tarātaſia, prouing the lawfull electiō of Alexander.

other ſide (as it is ſayd) ſoe baſely beehauing himſelfe as hee ſubmitted the Papal inſignes to the Emperours will, and receaued backe from Fredericke his inueſture by the ryng: This appeareth in Alexanders Epiſtle to the Bishop of Lexouy, wherin hee ſeemeth very much to relye vpon the king of Englandes conſtancy, extolling him with extraordinary prayſes. For king Henry ſoe much contemned Octauian, as hee made a ſcorne of his Nuntios and letters. Laſtly there were two thinges contrary to themſelues yet concurring in this yeere, which hauing relation to the hiſtory of S. Thomas, are not to bee paſſed ouer in ſilence; The one, that the Archbishop of Senon beeing now moſt fayth-full to Pope Alexander, proued afterwardes as faythfull to ſaint Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury: the other, that William of Pauy Prieſt Cardinall of ſainct Peeter ad vinculum fayntyng with ſilence at the Conuenticle of Pauy in the cauſe of Alexander, was afterwardes as faulty in the cauſe of ſainct Thomas.

King Henry the ſecond of England acknowledging Alexander the lawfull Pope, ſent this yeere Embaſſadours to him for canonizing ſainct Edward King of England and Confeſſor, beeing 95. yeers after his death, whereupon miracles beeing wrought, God did with the power of theſe two Kinges, the one in Heauen, the other in earth, confirme Alexanders vndoubted tytle, and our remote Iland, one of the vttermoſt boundes of the world confeſſed, whom ſome of his Countreymen, yea Cittizens, wickedly contradicted. Now alſo Peeter the renowned and holy Archbishop of Tarantaſia beeing ſent for by the Pope to ſtrengthen the faythfull in theyr true obedience to the Church, Herbert the ſcyſmaticall intruder of the Bishopricke of Chryſopolis, ſeeking to diſturb him in his iourney, was miraculously, ſtroken, and dyed deſperately. An other tyrant likewiſe, as hee attempted to make a prey of the good man, his horſe running amayne, in the very acte, beeing

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spoyled, ouerthrewe him, which caused him, to beecome a penitent, and obtayne pardon both of God and the holy Bishop. Many other miracles were moreouer shewed in him, which together with his admirable vertues, labor and preaching, not only enforced that feirce Lyon Frederick to loue him, but also confounded the erronious, and established the Catholikes beeing innumerable multitudes in Italy, Burgundy and Loraygne. In the same sorte saint Anthelme Bishop of Billicens assisted with one Geffery a learned wise and vertuous man, soe perswaded the Priors of the Carthusians and Cistercians (who amazed knew not which way to take) that as now beeing setled by them in the right, they with theyr orders, especially the Carthusians, through out the whole westerne Church, were the cheife publishers and defendors of Pope Alexanders cause. Neither thus ended the worthy endeauors of saincte Anthelm and Gessery, but they disswaded many other Prelates and theyr subiectes from following the wicked scysme of Octauia, and made thē vtterly deteste it. Whereupon Frederick desirous still to dispose of the Papacy, although beeneyther had power to blesse nor curse, condemned saint Anthelm, a firme pillar of the Catholicke Church, susteyning the strong frame of obedience through Spaine, Gaule, and Britaygne.

The Archbishop of Tarantasia confirmeth the Catholikes in obedience to the Pope in Italy. Burgundy. Loraygne.

S Anthelm Bishop of Billicēs setleth the Carthusians ād Cistercians in subiectiō to Alexander, winning thereby the western Church. Frederick rageth.

Spayne, Gaule, and Brytaygne acknowledg Alexander.

Alexander neuertheless returning to Rome found Octauians faction soe strengthened with the power of his noble kindred, and such as the Emperour had with his vttermost endeauors laboured on his side, as hee could haue there no place of cōtinuance; wherefore hee departed thence into Campany, and all the Patrimony of saint Peeter and the adiacent territoryes about the Citty beeing allmost wholy possest by the Almaynes and scysmatickes, hee determined by the aduise of his faythfull Counsellors to goe by sea with his brethren the Cardinalles into France. Leauing therefore the Bishop of Prenestyne his vicar and

Alexander not able to continue in Rome, beeing oppressed by Octauian.

Alexander enforced to flye into France.

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*substitute in the Citty, and disposing other thinges necessary for the Church, hee with the Cardinalles went to Tarana to take shipping, where hee found foure Galleys excellently ordered, beeing sent by the King of Cecill to serue him: Which hee and the Cardinalles had no sooner boarded, but that a horrible tempest aysing with the violẽce of the windes, waues and rockes, shattered thẽ all to peeces: yet heere the successor of S. Peeter obtayned at aboue S. Paule at Malta, for God graunted to the Apostle the liues of all the saylors and passingers: but to the Apostolike Alexander not only the liues, but also the goodes of all that were in the Galleys. Neither was Alexander vnthankfull to the King of Cecill for this extraordinary fauor, for when hee was afterwardes sollicited with great summes of money to haue deposed him, as a man not able to weylde the state of a kingdome, and to haue placed Amirate Maio as an other Pypin of France in his throne; the Pope not only refused it, but remayned also to death his constant freind, soe the King, though otherwise ill, was heerein worthie and prouident. The Pope notwithstanding this, resoluing to goe into France, heard the countrey was wonderfully imbroyled by reason of warres lately aryſing beetweene the kinges of France and England, and therefore sent Peeter Archbishop of Tarantasia to reunite them againe in league. Which hee happily accomplished, and thereupon ensued that both the kinges in theyr seuerall dominions summoned theyr Bishoppes, Abbottes and Barons: the king of England at * New-Market in Normandy, and the king of France at Bewuoys where they treated and concluded about the receauing of Alexander and reiecting Octauian: and because the Emperour neuer ceased to sollicite them to ioyne with him in the acceptance of Octauian, some what to satisfy him, and make a prefect conclusion of the controuersy, they called in one a Counsell of both kingdomes, where the scysmaticall Cardinalles Guido and Iohn on the*

Alexander suffereth shipwracke without losse of life or goodes of any.

The Archbishop of Tarantasia sent Legate into France to make a peace beetweene France and England. Peace concluded.

* *Nouum Mercatum.*

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the behalfe of Octauian, and Henry of Pisa, Iohn of Naples, and William of Pauy Cardinalles for Pope Alexander appeared. Heere Guido in the presence of these kinges and Prelates, and that great multitude both of the Clergie and Layetie, extended for Octauian the vttermost of his witt and eloquence, to whom William of Pauy a singular Orator, opening his mouth that was shutt at Pauy, replyed, and soe retorted his owne argumentes vpon him, as hee ouercame him with his owne weapons; in the conclusion of which conflicte the victory was soe apparant on Alexanders side, as both kinges with theyr subiects acknowledged him euer after their spirituall gouernor, and therupon was excōmunication pronounced against the Scysmatickes. Thus all beesides the Empire yeelded to Pope Alexander, who safely reposeing himselfe in the principality of the king of Cecill, expected a conueniente tyme to passe ouer into France, hauing thus prepared his way by Peeter Archbishop of Tarantasia, a man of that singular humility, charity, and contempt of the world, as had hee not bin disswaded vpon vrgent reasons, hee would haue sold his horses, and beestowing the money on the poore, trauelled on foote. But, happily hindred, hee was instantly vpon the Popes occasions enforced to vse them in his iourney to France; when staying by the way at the Monastery of Pluriack for want of health, hee neuertheless restored the sicke miraculously to their health; and that by the confluence of people flocking to him the prouision of the Religious should not bee wasted, hee with the same power multiplied theyr corne and bread; where also a knight whose sonne was deprived of sight, hoping to recouer by the meritts of the Saint, what his child for his owne demeritts had lost, carying him towardes the Abbey, and meeting by the way with a Catholike, who had bread hallowed by the Archbishop, applyed some of the crummes thereof to his sonnes eyes, whereupon hee did presently see, and the father

Alexanders title manifested in a counsell of the Clergie of France and englād.

The Archbishop of Tarantasias humility ād charity.

The Archbishop of Tarantasias miracles confirming the Popes election.

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who thought to presse the Saint with his sute, did now render God and him humble thanks for this benefit. The Gouernor of Corboyle in France hauing a daughter of fiue yeeres old, who was borne lame, offered the child at the Saintes feete, by whose prayer and imposition of his hand, shee presently obtayned integrity of her limbes. From thence hee passed through Paris with wonderfull expectation of the kinges and princes, and exceeding concourse of multitudes of people, euery where honoring him, and pressing about him not only for these rare cures soe oftē shewed, but also to see the Popes Legate, the messinger of peace, the enemy of warre, whose bloody discord was euen now ready to confound both kindomes, euery one for reuerence of his sanctity, and for remedy of theyr maladyes striuing to gett but some little peece of his garment. At the Blaud Mountayne the confine of France and Normandie Henry King of England hasted to meete him, and no sooner sawe him, but * leaping from his horse hee ran to him, and imbracing his feete, instantly got his vpper garment, yea although hee refused, although hee resisted, although hee and others dissuaded, yet the king persisted, and one of the Legates followers saying, and what should an old torne cloake doe in a kinges royal wardrobe? The king answered, you would neuer vse these wordes, did you but know the great cures that haue bin wrought by his girdle which now some yeeres since was giuen mee. About this place rested the Legate, treating with the prime men of the kingdomes, concerning a conclusion of peace, where a poore woman whose daughter was dumb from her nativity, more respecting her childes cure, then the glory of the kinges and state of theyr kingdomes, could not bee restrayned, but that she broke in through the greatest of them, leading with her the childe; neyther did this humble Legate for all this noble assembly refuse her, but praying, and putting his thumb dipped in his owne spittle into the childes

*Alighting

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mouth, and then signing her tongue and lippes with the Crosse, bad her speake after him, which presently shee did, and afterwardes continued the vse of her speech. And instantly a yong man brought his feeble and lame mother, who signed with the Legates benediction, recouered. The Legate an other tyme conferring with the king of France, the young prynce of England and the Earle of Flanders, about this weyghty busines, a woeman pressed towardes him with her sonne beeing twelue yeeres of age, and seauen yeeres blind, whom when the Courtyers and attenders would haue kept backe, the Legate commanded her, weeping as she was, to bee brought with her child vnto him, and the Legate asking the childe what hee desired, my lord (sayd he) that I may see; the Legate put a peece of money into the childes hand, and meeting his fingers in his owne spittle, signed the crowne of the childes head, and his eyes, with the Crosse, and prayed; the princes wondred what the Legate meante, thinking hee had iested, but the child instantly recouered sight, sawe the money in his hand, and all thinges else; the Princes and all admyred, and the denoute king of France beeing certaynly assured of the miracle, falling on his knees, kissed the childes head and eyes. At the Monastery of Mortimer the legate on Ash-Wednesday giuing hallowd ashes to the king of England and others, a knight, who by reason of a wound receaued in his temples from a Crossebowe, had lost now long since the sight of one of his eyes, importunately beesought the Legate to restore him his eye, the Legate excusing himselfe, and intreating the knight not to presse him aboue his power, the knight still instantly vrged him, till in the end the Legate touched, blessed, and dismissed him, whereupon hee receaued the sight of his lost eye. The knight published this to his lord the king and others, wherupon God was more praysed and honored, and his seruant more reuerenced. In all which miracles wrought by this Arch-

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bishop the Popes Legate, Almighty God did show his approbation of Alexanders election. The Emperour and Octavian neuertheleſſe desperate in theyr malice, continued theyr scysmaticall Conuenticles beegun at Pauy, next at Crema, and then at Laude.

Octauians Conuenticles.

An. Dom. 1162

Alexanders voyage into France from the coaſte of Moūt Circe to Genua.

Alexander beeing not able to execute the function of his supreme authority in Italie, beecauſe all that euer had recourſe to him there, were robbed and impriſoned by Octauians ſouldiers, reſolued vpon France, and within the Octaues of our Lordes Natiuity taking shipp with his Cardinalles about Mount Circe, on the feaſt of ſaint Agnes (God proſpering his voyage) came to Genua, where contrary to the Emperours command, hee was royally entertayned by the Cleargie and Layetie. Launching from Genua on Paſſion ſunday, hee proſperously arryued on Palme ſunday in an Iland of Liguria, where hee celebrated Easter.

From Genua to an Iland of Liguria.

From the Iland to Mount Peſſula.

The Iland beeing not long able to contayne him, and beeſides a mighty number of Prelates expecting him on the mayne land, hee came towardes a populous village of Mount Peſſula, where ſuch a preſſe of people went forth to meete him, as clad in his Pontificialty, hee was hardly able to take his horſe, ſoe great a concurſe there was to kiſſe his feete, and happie was hee thought that could but touch the hemme of his garment. The lord of the towne for a myle, leading his horſe, with Barones and a comely trayne of ſouldiers wayting on him, hee entred the village with ſolemne Proceſſion: where among the Chriſtian nobility that humbled themſelues at his feete, came a Prince of the Saracenes pompeously attended, and falling on his knees before him with great reuerence bowing lowe and kiſſing his feete, deliuered him from his lord a king of the Mahometans an embaſſage in his barbarous language, but expounded by an interpreter; whom the Pope courteously anſwered, & honorably entertayned, placing him at his feete among others of the nobility. Soe the infidells reuerenced

The Popes entertainment in France.

A Saracens great reuerence and ſoléne embaſſage to the Pope.

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him whom the ſciſmatic all Emperour perſecuted. On ſunday following the Pope, declaring openly in the Church before a great multitude of all ſortes, his lawfull election, and the perfidious attemptes of the ſcyſmatickes, ſolemnly excommunicated Octauian and his complices. An outragious famine at that time encreaſing and conſuming Aquitaine with the adiacent cõtreyes, threatened all France; wherefore the Pope ſent two of his Cardinalles to the king of France, ſignifying his arryual within his Dominions, and requeſting to know we in what parte of his kingdome hee would appoint him and his to remayne: whom the king for the honor of ſainct Peeter reuerently vſed, returning them backe with all contentment to Pope Alexander, whom hee called his Lord, father, and Paſtor of his ſoule. And according to the kinges and his counſelles deſignment, Alexander about the month of Iune trauelled towardes Aluerne, and on the Eeuen of the Aſſumption of our Bleſſed Lady came to Claremont.

Octauian againe excommunicated.

Agreate famine in Aquitaine.

The Pope reſided at Claremõt.

The Emperour now ſeeing the whole Chriſtian world (except himſelfe) followe Pope Alexander, was confounded but not conuerted: for ſtanding on his owne power hee knewe the limitts of his Empire to bee extraordinarily enlarged, and allmoſt all Italie ſubiect to his Dominion: moreouer hee feared, if Pope Alexander preuayled, hee ſhould looſe his Emperiall courtes; ſtraitghtned therfore in this ſorte, beeing a man of a great witt and deepe policy, hee beegan to deuiſe how hee might with a generall aſſent of the Church haue both Alexander and his Idol Octauian depoſed, and a third elected: And beecauſe, like will to like, hee made choyſe of Henry Count of Trey, in whom hee repoſed eſpeciall truſt, to bee heerein his ſtrength and aſſiſtance. The Counte therfore inſtructed by the Emperour returned home, and comming as a ſubtle temptor to his lord the king of France, a man of a Doues ſimplicity, craftily ſuggeſted to him on the Emperours beehalfe a ſingular good

The Emperor entrappeth the King of France.

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way to make a perfect vnion in the Romane Church, which was, that the Emperour for the pure loue of God desired that they two, beeing the greatest Princes of this parte of the world, should at Auinion, a towne confining on both theyr dominions, assemble together the Cleargie and Layety both of the Empire and France, and the Emperour to bring with him Octauian and his complices, and the King, Alexander with his Cardinalles, and there the election of them both beeing diligently examined by the Clergie of Italy, Germany and France, to determine them what was best and most profitable to the Christiã Common wealth. The king out of his pious disposition too confident, and considering the great mischeifes which arose vpon this discord, condescended to the Count, promising his safe conduct to the Emperour for effecting this matter. Whereupon the Count returning to the Emperour in Lumbardy, confirmed this on the kinges beehalfe with his oathe. Hence spread an euill rumor through Italy to the greife of all good Catholikes, fearing least heereby the Churches liberty should bee endangered. Against the day the Emperour with his Princes and puissant army came to the appoynted place, and Octauian with his scysmaticall cõfederates followed. The king with his Clergie and nobility hastened also thither, meeting in the way at Saluian with Pope Alexander, where honoring one an other, they consulted two dayes about this appoynted assembly, but beeing a thing not only vnworthy, but also contrary to the Churches Canons, that the Papacy beeing the highest seate, should bee subiect to any earthly iudgment, it was agreede by all, that only some of the principall Cardinalles should bee sent to manifest to the world the lawefull election of Pope Alexander, and Octauians title to bee but a frynolous imposture. Whereupõ fiue Cardinalles accõpanyd the king to the parlee, the Pope with the rest retyring themselues to the Monastery of Dole in Aquitayne. The king with his reuerent and ho-

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norable trayne came by Diion to Mount Saon which deuideth France from Germany, expecting there what the Emperour would propound. Wherefore the Arch heretike Octauian, seeing the Reuerent Cardinalles of the Church of Rome, and the Cleargy of France constantly appearing against him, beeing afrayd of his tryal, complayned to the Emperour, that his aduersary Alexander disdayned to appeare, and himselfe whose cause was in the Emperours presence confirmed at the Counsell of Pauy, must yet come to a new examination. Wherupon the Emperour incensed with anger, sent the king word that bee had broken his conenant, and falsifyd his oath, beecause hee brought not Alexander to the place. The king therfore aduising with his counsell, answered, that allthough hee could lawfully excuse the Popes absence, yet becaus hee would not derogate from his regality or renowne, nor bee taynted with any deceyte, bee it eyther iust or vniust, hee would presently without any dissimulation send for the Pope and his brethren thither. And soe instantly posted away messingers to call the Pope and Cardinals thither with speede, or otherwise to signify that hee must yeeld himselfe a captiue into the Emperours handes, according as it was couenanted betweene them. Wherupon the Pope and Cardinals seeing the king thus entangled in the Emperours snares, were marueylously troubled, considering how they were on all sides beeset with dangers, for if they wente thyther to vndergoe the iudgment of men, they saw the Churches liberty hazarded by violence; if they went not, but suffered the king to bee enthralled by the Emperour, they could expect nothing for themselues but imprisonment and losse of all. For the Emperour was not only dreadfull with his owne mighty army, but had also the kinges of Denmarke and Behemia with his princes and powers there vnited with him, intending, as it seemed, to accomplish in that parlee the malice which hee

The Pope and Cardinalles togetherwith the Kinge of France in danger to bee surprised by the Emperour.

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had long hached against the Pope and king. But god who neuer forsaketh his, suffered not the Pope and king to become a prey to the Emperour, for hee stirred vp the spirit of the glorious king of England with a powerfull army of resolute souldiers to march speedily and couragiously against the Emperour, sending also such a terrible famine among the Emperiales, as Frederick could no longer endure there to effect his intended mischeife. Wherfore, to make a faire pretence for his departure, hee sent by Reynold his Chancellor and others his fauorites to the king of France, commanding him, that in regarde theyr lord Fredericke was Emperour of the Romanes, and the speciall Aduocate of the Romane Church, and therfore no Prelates could iudge the cause of the Election of the Pope of Rome, but such as were within the Romane Empire, the king with his Bishops & Clergie should repayre to him as a freind and associate to attend his sentence heerein. Whereunto the king smiling answered, that hee wondred a wise man would send soe foolish a message; asking if hee were ignorant that Christ committed his flocke to saint Peeter and his successors, or whether hee could euer proue that the king of France and his Prelates were any where excepted, as beeing not sheepe of that flocke. And so contemning the Emperour and this embassage hee departed, arming himselfe and his nobility, and fortifying his frontyres to wnes against the Emperour, returned by Gods assistance with glory to his courte, and the fiue Cardinalles in like sorte to the Pope, she wing to his holines theyre blessed deliuery. The Emperour on the other side confounded with shame dispersed his army euen perishing with famine, and with great sorrowe went into Germany. About this time the king of England visited Pope Alexander, in the Monastery of Bobien, and prostrating himselfe with all humility, kissed his feete: and when the Pope offered him a seate meete for his Maiestie, hee refused it, and with his Barons sate

The King of Englads couragious attempt to deliuer the Pope and King of France out of the Emperours hades.

The Pope and king of France by Gods assistance rescued frō the Emperours malice.

The king of England visiteth the Pope, and humbly kisseth his feete.

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fate at his feete: Hee was receaued by the Pope with the kisse of peace, and the king bestowing royal and bounteous gistes on him and the Cardinalles, with great ioy departed. The Pope trauelling from thence to towers celebrated there the feast of Christmas. This yeere also lewis king of France and Henry king of England meeting Pope Alexander at Tociacke (which is situated on the riuer of Loyre) both kinges attending on foote did leade the Popes horse, hee ryding thereon: the king of France houlding the right, and the king of England the left cheeke of his brydle, and soe conducting him to a Pauylion prepared for him, where bee by godes assistance vnited them in a perfect leage of amity. Soe these two kinges diuided long in bloudy warres, agreed both in one to honor in this sorte ioyntly together Christes vicar. A thing though often vsed by Emperours and kinges to Popes, yet neuer beefore executed by two kinges at once. Soe God did honor him whom the Emperour sought to depresse, & rewarded the kinges for theyr humble seruice with a Benediction of Peace.

That kinges of Frãce and Englãd together lead ioyntly the Popes horse. The Pope vniteth the kinges of France and and Englãd in perfect amity.

Now heere is to bee showed how Waldemar king of Denmark sonne of king Canutus the Martyr beeing deluded by the Emperour and Octauian, was drawne within the Lyons pawes, and soe inforced to bee his homager, yet mercifully deliuered by Christ from the contamination of this scysme. The king beeing sollicited by the Scysmatickes, and not vnderstanding the matter, sent Rafe his secretary, a man of more wordes then wisedome, to the Emperour, where ouercome with the curtesies and rewards of Fredericke and Octauian, and allured also with large promises made to the king his Master of a Prouince in Italy and the gouerment of Sclauia, and beeing moreouer informed how pyous an acte it was, and how well beeseeming the zeale and great discretion of soe worthy a kinge to come and yeeld his assistance for vniting the Catholikes thus

Waldemar king of Denmarke deluded by the Emperour beecame his homager, yet deliuered by God from his scysme.

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disioynted; neyther yet Octauians humility submitting himselfe to the counsell, nor Alexanders refusal to obey their iudgments, beeing forgotten, was thus perswaded, and sent backe to relate all this to his king, who more bold heerin then discreete, and not soe much vpon a Religious yeale as a curiosity to see the fashons of other countreys, entertayned these suggestions. At that tyme Octauians Legate was in Denmarke, but rather scorned then accepted. After whose dimission the king went to Absalon Bishop of Roschildens his foster brother and faythfull freind, a man of rare vertues, gravity and wisedome, to whom laying all open, hee declared his intended iourney, desiring the Bishop to accompany him. The Bishop discouering Frederickes deceytes, condemned them, assuring hee could not without violating his religion, entertayne the Emperours freindship, beeing more passionately then iustly transported with this scysme, and for his owne parte, that hee was altogether vnprouided for such a iourney. The king offering to furnish him with all thinges necessary, the Bishop answered, hee would not hazard his soule among the professed enemyes of Gods Church. The king replying, hee therfore desired to haue him along, beecause if his conscience should bee any wayes endangered, the Bishop might rescue and deliuer him; the Bishop ouercome with his importunity, happily yeelded: whereupon the king with a royal trayne sett forward: neyther with any dangers or dissuasiõs of his faythfull counsellors could hee bee recalled, but neuertheless preceeded on with great iustice and religion, which purchassed him in all Countreyes where hee passed, both loue and reuerence: for though his company encreasing amounted in showe to an army, yet would hee not suffer them to offer the least wrong to any: yea his seuere equity was such, both at home and abroade, as when afterwardes vpon want of prouision for his horses; complayning to the Emperour, hee desired hee might

Absolon Bishop of Roschildens a wise and vertuous Prelate.

The singular iustice of the king of Denmarke.

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haue the same for money, and the Emperour willed that his seruantes as others who followed those warres should gett it by spoyle of the Countrey: hee cryed out hee was no theife, nor would purchase by robbery, and although in cases of necessity this was tolerated, yet would hee not allow that in other nations, which hee condemned in his owne, or suffer his subiectes with forraine offences to corrupt their domesticall lawes. Wherupon the Germane Princes admyring, protested, that happy was the Realme where such a king gouerned. But to returne to the purpose: After a tedious iourney approaching the Emperiall Campe, hee found contrary to his expectation a cold entertaynment. For Absolon the good Bishop accompanyd with Rafe that ill Embassador, deliuered beefore the Emperour the cause of his lords coming. But Frederike condemning first the kinges neglecte and delay, sayd, that hee who held his kingdome by seruice to the Emperiall Maiestie, forgot himselfe much in omitting thus long his attendance. Absolon answering, The Emperour should haue signifyd soe much to the king before hee vndertooke his iourney, and not to inuite him with such faire and large promises. The Emperour wondering, answered, who fed the king with such hopes and promises? Absolon produced Rafe, saying, this is hee, who with your high promises abused the goodnes of our credulous king. But Rafe abashed as the Emperours denyall, gaue the Bishop leaue to vnfould the whole matter. The Emperour still gaynsaying all, Absolon desired his kinge might haue then a safe conduct backe into his Countrey: But Fredericke yeelding to nothing, affirmed, that as hee medled not with his comming, soe hee would not assist him in his goeing. Heerupon the king repenting his rashnes, sayd, although the sword hung ouer his head, neuertheles hee would rather dye then inthrall his countrey to bondage. And for a remedy to this mischeife, lying with the Emperour

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on the confines of France, determined by Absolons counsell, to flye thither by stealth for refuge. But the Emperour altering his mynde sought to win him by giftes, whom hee could not bend by terror, and giuing the gouernment of Sclauia allured the king to doe him Homage, yet soe as it should neyther preiudice his posterity nor kingdome, alleadgeing for example the glorious king of England, who in like case for his principallityes in France, did Homage to the king of France. And now to descend to Octauians absurd conuenticle, where the Archbishop of Clen declaymed of the iniury offered the Romane Emperour by other kinges who would intermedle with choosing the Pope of Rome, where the Emperour on the contrary side neuer interposed himselfe about the elections of any Bishoppes in Cittyes subiect to their dominions. And the Emperour saying also that hee doubted not but the kinges there present, assembled by him for that purpose, would concurre with the Bishoppes in ratifying Octauians authority. When Octauian heereupon proceeded in his counterfeit solemnity to accurse Pope Alexander, the king of Denmarke admonished by Absolon, departed the place, and refusing to bee present at that sacrilegious excommunication, shewed thereby his approbation of Alexander, and reprobation of Octauian. And Bishop Absolon following after, when Octauian requested him to stay, sayd, there was no reason but as hee came with the king, soe hee should departe with him, and soe they both left Octauian. Thus the Emperour contrary to the Canons of the Church, summoned kinges to establishe the Papacy.

The king of Denmarke by the aduise of Bishop Absolon flyinge Octauian, followeth Alexander.

Heere now dawneth the day of sainct Thomas of Canterburyes history, which heeing most tempestuous, closed neuertheles in a most glorious Euening; for thus writeth Cardinall Baronius. This selfe same yeere a great counsell was assembled at London in England, of all the Bishoppes

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meeting together about the election of the Archbishop of Canterbury, beeing the cheife Metropolitan of the Realme, after the death of Archbishop Theobalde who departed this life on Easter Tewesday, when hee had administred that place twenty yeeres: the king himselfe was also there present, where by the general assent of all, Thomas his Maiesties Chancellor was chosen to that dignity: which beeing written at large among the actions of his life cronicled by Edward a man of that age, you see heere breifely collected and printed: But other matters are likewise recorded by foure Authors, beeing all Disciples of saint Thomas, the first, Hubert his Clearke, the next William of Canterbury, the third Iohn of Salusbury, the last, Alane Abbot of Deache, all which beeing digested in three bookes remayning in the Vaticane library, together with selected Epistles written by diuers Authors, and all tending to this purpose, among which many were sent by saint Thomas and Pope Alexander, and beeing by the labour of Iohn of Salusbury deuided into fiue bookes excelling all treasures, shall helpe to beautify this my history. The tome it selfe remayneth in the Vaticane library. Hubert testifyeth that saint Thomas sought by all meanes to auoyd this Archiepiscopall dignity, for these are his wordes: Thomas laboured with the king, that hee should forbeare to aduance him to the Archbishoppricke of Canterbury, professing if hee were soe chosen, hee should proue his aduersary and enemy in defending the Churches liberty. Whereunto Salusbury addeth thus: hauing long resisted, vpon the instant vrging of Henry of Pisa preist Cardinall of saints Nereu and Achilleus beeing there Legate, hee assented, wherupon they presently sent Messingers to Pope Alexander resyding then at Mount Pessulan for obtayning his pall, which for reuerence of soe great a man was out of hand graunted, and soe at the Popes hands they receaued it.

Saint Thomas chosen archbishop of Canterbury.

The Authors and Epistles frō whēce Cardinall Baronius collecteth the history of saint Thomas.

Saint Thomas laboreth to flye the Archbishoppricke, telling King Henry that in this place hee shall offend him in defending the Churches liberty.

S. Thomas cōsecrated Archbishop of Canterbury.

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But in laying open the excessiue tribulations and extremityes falling out in the processe of his Bishoppricke, which exceedingly afflicted not only Thomas himselfe with the Church of Canterbury and all England, but also Pope Alexander with the Romane Church, and the whole Catholike world, wee are soe ouerwhelmed with abundance of Authors, as wee can hardly without great labor ploung out of them. For not only Edward and those foure Authors wryting to this purpose; with others who registred the occurents of the time, yield plentifully most copious matter to furnish Chronicles: but also 455. Epistles sent vpon that occasion by diuers to sundry persons, and especially by Pope Alexander and saint Thomas himselfe, out of which wee frame this Epistolary history which excelleth others, presenteth vs with such an ouerswelling sea of discourse, as our style beeing euen drowned, the very plenty maketh vs poore.

An. Dom. 1163.

Pope Alexander intending to celebrate a Counsell at Towers, hastened about the beginning of Lent to speake with the king of France at Paris, where the vertuous king with his lords & knightes mett him two leagues before his entrance of the Citty, and as the king saw the Pope, hee alyghting, ran to his styrrup and humbly kissed his feete, whom the Pope receaued also with a kisse, & soe both ryding forward together with the Cardinalls, were with a most solemne procession of the Clergy, and great exultation brought to the Cathedrall Church. Heere remayned his holines till Easter was passed. Afterwards hee trauailled to Charters, and thence to Towers, where on the 14. Kalends of Iune, beeing within the Octaues of Penticoste, in the Church of saint Martine hee celebrated his Counsell with 17. Cardinalles, a hundred & foure & twenty Bishops, besides a maruilous number of the Clergie and Layetie; among whom was saint Thomas who was the last yeere instauled in the Archbishoppricke of

Alexander celebrateth the Counsell of Towers.

S. Thomas comming to the Counsell of Towers.

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Canterbury, whom the Pope soe honorably receaued, as hee sent all the Cardinalles, except two that euer attend him, to meete this Metropolitane before his entrance into the Citty, and gaue him as fully as hee requested, confirmation of all his Churches priuiledges. Heere Arnulphus Bishop of Lexouy, by the Popes appointment made the Oration, beeing most pious, learned ād eloquēt, wherin hee touched the Emperours authority giuen only to his Ancestors by the Romane Church and thence diriued to him, and prayeth them charitably to relieue the Pope and Cardinalles beeing now banished out of all. To this Counsell came Conrade the Elect of Mounes, leauing his Cousen the Emperour and all his temporall honors to follow Pope Alexander, by whom hee was made afterwards Cardinall Bishop of Sabine, and Archbishop of Mounts, wherewith the Emperour beeing offended intruded Christian his Chancellor into his place. In this Counsell Alexanders vndoubted tytle to Papacy beeing most euidently declared, Octauian with all his Complices was againe accursed. There are also diuers Canons of the same Counsell extans. Pope Alexander beeing offered by the kinges to make choyse of some Citty within their dominions to inhabite in, went in October to Senon beeing a Metropolitane Citty, where hee executed freely his supreme function, and authority. Heere William of Newborough wandreth in two errors, the one, that saint Thomas at the Counsell of Towers moued in conscience, because hee receaued at the kinges hands a laycall inuesture, beeing neyther Canonically nor sincerely done, resigned therefore his Bishoppricke secretly into the Popes handes, which his Holines restored to him againe with lawfull approbation, curing the scruple of his afflicted conscience, which, as in the processe of this worke will appeare, was afterwardes. The other, that the only cause of controuersy beetweene the king and the Archbishoppe was, that saint Thomas would, not

ers was honourably receaued by the Pope.

Cōrade the elected Archbishop of Mounts leauing his Cousen the Emperour, came to the Pope at the Counsell of Towers.

Cōrade aduanced by the Pope Alexanders vndoubted tittle to the Papacy manifested.

Octauiā accursed.

Alexander residing at Senon in France gouerneth the Catholike Church.

William of Newberies errors.

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suffer him to punish a notorious offending Clearke, which (as shall bee manifested) was not the only, but one among other most iust occasions that moued saint Thomas to reproue the king, whereupon grew this bitter dissention. Yet Newborough would haue thus excused the king. But let vs now follow the Archbishop returning home to his owne Church from the counsell of Towers, that wee may search out the originall of this great controuersy, which for seauen yeeres troubling the Romane Church, found none effect for vniting this rented discord beetweene the king and him. After the Archbishops returne, vntill the translation of saincte Edward the king, which was solemnized on the third of the Ides of October, there reigned quiet peace and contentment beetweene the king and him: but what afterwardes ensued, these Authors beeing eye-witnesses of the proceedinges doe testify.

The Translation of S. Edward King of England and Confessour.

CONSIDERATIONS VPON the Preface.

LEt vs now heere behould the Christian world as at this tyme it presented it selfe. Where first wee see the Pope & Cardinals banished out of Rome, Italy and all, the mighty Emperour of Rome possessing all theyr dominions Ecclesiasticall & temporall, and mayntaineing Octauian that vsurping Scysmatick in the Papal throne. The Emperour of Constantinople not intermedling with the Westerne Church, and also lately ouerthrowne by the Cecilians. The king of Ierusalem though acknowledging Alexander his lawfull Pastor, yet raigning afar of, & hardly able to defend the frontyers of Christendome against the Saracens. The good king of Denmarke though lately shewing himselfe an approued Catholike, yet Frederickes Homager, and diuorced by all Germany from assisting Pope Alexander. Bohemia drowned in Germany; and Hungary a remote kingdome,

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kingdome, and though subiect to the Romane Sea, yet not able to succour her. The king of Cecill, though Alexanders faythfull freind, yet soe incumbred with domesticall rebellions, as hee could not rayse an army to restore him. The kingdomes of Spaine, though they wished him well, yet soe ouercome with the Mahometan Moores as theyre states were miserable. So hee was only left by God to the pious & worthie king of France, the powerfull king of England, and in myne opinion, the greatest king of the Norman race that euer swayd ouer this land: for (as Gilbert B. of London writing in the names of all the English Bishops to saint Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, sayth) his dominions reached from the Perinean Mountaines to the Northerne seas: and if Edward the III. Henry the V. and Edward the IV. hauing England, Ireland, Callis, & rather a tumultuous tytle, then any peaceable countreyes or profitable reuennes in France, were able to tryumph ouer France, then how much was Henry the II. who besides England & Ireland, had the Dutchyes of Normandy & & Aquitaine, with the Earledome of Anioue his natiue soyle & other honores in quiet possession, to omitt Britaine that had a great dependance on him, able to ouermatch the puissance of France. To passe from this to his great reuerence & affection to Pope Alexander, I know no king that euer showed more: and last to ascend to his actions, the effectes of these, Henry the II. drewe England, France, Spaine, Ireland & Norwaye to obey Pope Alexander: and when the Emperour would haue surpryzed at Mount Saon, the king of France, and thereby entralled the Pope & Cardinalles, & spoyled them of all, this renowned K. with his courragious army rescued them. Now what a terrible attempt was it of the enemy of Mankind to withdrawe (if hee could) from the Pope such a king, from the Church such a child? But though the billowes of these seas were wonderfull, yet God was more marualous in guiding saincte Peters ship through them. Considering all

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theſe, euery indifferent man may in reading this Epiſtolary hiſtory iudge how great reaſon the Pope had, as far as in conſcience hee poſſibly could, to forbeare this king ſoe well deſeruing of the Apoſtolike Sea. And alſo when, inforced through iuſtice thereunto, hee would haue executed againſt him the cenſures of the Church, what a true heroicall vertuous acte it was to prefer the loue & duty hee bore to Almighty God, before the fauor of ſoe great, & ſuch a deſeruing freind. And what aboue all others is moſt to bee marked in the proces of this matter, although all the Biſhops of this realme fearefully & fowly wandred aſtray, yea although ſaint Thomas of Canterbury himſelfe like an other ſaint Peeter falling, recouered againe, & roſe to a glorious Martyrdome: yet Pope Alexander, whom it cheifely concerned, neuer erred eyther in fayth or in facte; God ſo directed with his holy Ghoſt the gouernor of his Church. Laſtly to conclude with this famous kinge, whoſe faire aryſing ſunne was ſoe ouerclowded with his turbulent paſſions, as they, moleſted the whole Church, and gaue occaſion (though, vnwitting to him) of the Martyrdome of the glorious Saints: hee returned neuerthelesse in the end ſoe clearly againe to himſelfe, as hee gaue that great ſatisfaction, & indured, yea impoſed vpon himſelfe ſoe sharpe a pennance as was able to make his very enemys relent, and aſtony hearte with teares to pitty him: Neither doe I thinke but the prayers & merites of S. Thomas, that conuerting his bloudy executioners to cõtrite penitẽtes through Chriſtes paſſion ſaued their ſoules, did in like ſorte, yea more effectually helpe to raiſe to the ſame eternall bleſſednes this king, after hee departed this world in the Octaues of S. Peeter & S. Paul. An. 1189. beeing firſt penitẽt, cõfeſſing his ſinnes, & receauing the moſt B. Sacrament. This being deliuered by Card. Bar. out of Roger I haue preciſely ſet downe, becauſe it is Cronicled that the king dyed out of charity, beeing I thinke as falſe, as that Pope Adrian (according to the Scyſmatickes fable) was choaked with a flye, or K. Iohn poyſoned by a Monke.

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THE ECCLESIASTICALL HISTORIE OF SAINCT THOMAS ARCHBISSOPPE OF CANTERBVRY.

THE olde enemie maketh continuall warre againſt the Church, but the ſonne of God who hath redeemed it with his owne blood, will alſo by the blood of his owne membres bring the ſame to true and perfect liberty: among which the glorious company of the Apoſtles and purple coulored army of holy martyrs hath the prehemi-nence by whoſe doctrine the liuely ſtones in the buil-ding of the body of Chriſt, are confirmed, by whoſe blood (as it were with morter and ſymonde) they are ioyned together, and vnited, that the Church of God goeing forward and multiplying in piety, the number of the faithfull might bee made fit for the building of an holy Temple, in our Lord.

The glory of martyr-dome.

And allbeit all Martirs in generall haue a ſupereminent prerogatiue of eternall glory, yet their title is

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more glorious, and their Crowne more bright, that haue deſerued double honor by inſtructing of others, making themſelues an example to their flocke: and laying downe their liues for their sheepe in the time of tryall: for like as one ſtarre exceedeth an other in brightnes, ſoe in the reſurrectiō the Saintes shall shine like ſtarrs, euery one in his proper order, and they that haue inſtructed many to liue well, shall bee as the bringhtnes of the *Firmament* for euer and euer: among which ranck *ſaint Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury* may worthely bee placed, who as hee hath bin for Chriſt a Companion of their tribulation and patience, ſoe is hee now in Chriſt, a fellowe heire of their ioy and conſolation: whoſe meritts that they may the better appeare to the world, I haue heere ſet downe the ſomme of his life and conuerſation, breifely and ſuccinctly, referring thoſe that deſire to reade his actes more largely diſcourſed to larger volumes of him and by him, where hee shall bee ſatisfyed to the glory of Gods grace, which breatheth where it will; with how great expedition hee diſpatched many great affaires, it appeareth by his Epiſtles, and by the writinges of other credible Authors alſo, which being read with due attention, may ſtirre vp vs and ſucceeding ages to vertue and piety.

Saint Thomas of Canterbury.

Hee was borne in Lōdon of noe meane parentage.

Bleſſed *Thomas* was by birth à *Londoner*, a noble iſſue deſcended from no meane parents: from his tender yeeres hee was endowed with manifold graces: of ſtature, hee was tall; of perſonage, comely; of witt, quicke; in diſcourſe ſubtill and pleaſant, and in beauty of mynd hee was no leſſe amiable. In his yong yeeres ſuch was the sharpnes of his witt, that hee could vnfould ſtrange and intricate queſtions, and therewithall hee had ſoe happy a memory, that what ſoeuer hee read or heard, hee could eaſily make vſe of it when

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occasiō was offered, which many greater Clerkes could not attaine vnto: all men did admire the alacritie of his spirit, especially in a man employed in soe many businesses: but thus did grace attend and nourish him that was reserued for soe eminēt a place in the Church of God. In his Sermons and ordinary discourses (as hee vsed often times to say) necessary matter was ministred vnto him: his mother also (as hee vsed to say) taught him from his cradle to serue God, and deuoutly to call vpon the Blessed Virgin mother of God, as the directer of his [illegible]yes, and patroneſſe of his life. and next vnto Christ, to put his cheife confidence in her. Hee had compassiō on those that begged from dore to dore, and releiued them effectually, so as hee might say with Iob, mercy hath growne vp with mee from the beginning, and pitty came with mee out of my mother's wombe.

His mothers Lesson.

His charitie and compassion.

Leauing the schooles of liberal sciences, hee became a Courtier, in which profession hee gaue soe great hope of his forwardnes, that both in the serious affaires of the Courte, and in their disportes and recreation, hee excelled far all his companions of his rancke: and albeit hee did apply himselfe to the vaine delightes of youth, as the frailty of that age did leade him, yet was there euer in him a religious zeale, and a magnificent mynd: albeeit hee was beyond measure desirous of popularity, and (as wee read of saint Brice of Tours) although hee was proud and vaine, and many times amourous in his wordes, yet was hee nevertheles an admirable paterne to bee followed in the chastity of his body.

He became a Courtier.

Hee was very religious.

He was chaſt of body.

When hee perceaued that many thinges were attempted in the Courte, to the dishonor of the Clergie, and that his liuing there was repugnant to his intended purpose, by the instinct and conduction of grace, rather

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He was preferred to the ſeruice of Theobald Arch-Bishop of Can.

then by the motion and aduice of his freindes, hee preferred himſelfe to the ſeruice of Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury of happie memory, where through his induſtrie in shorte time, hee was receaued into the number of his moſt familiar freindes, which were very fewe: how many great trauailes hee ſuſtained there for the Church of God: how often hee did viſite the ſepulchers of the Bleſſed Apoſtles, for the diſpatch of neceſſary affaires: with what proſperous ſucceſſe hee ſpedd in his negotiations, it is not eaſy to bee related, eſpecially by a pen that affecteth breuity: purpoſing only compendiouslie to ſet downe the cauſe and manner of his Martyrdome, for the better preparing of him that was preordained of God to bee ſoe great a prelate; for the decyding of weighty cauſes and inſtructing of the people, hee gaue himſelfe to the ſtudy of the Ciuil and Cannon lawe, and for the encreaſing of his experience in the Eccleſiaſticall function, the ſaide Archbishop made him Arch-Deacon of the Church of Canterbury wherin hee was trained vp.

He was employed in meighty affaires.

He ſtudyed the Ciuil and Canon lawe.

He was made Arch-Deacon of Cant.

Afterward when Henry Duke of Normandie and Aquitaine the ſonne of Galfride Earle of Angiou, and Mawlde the Empreſſe ſucceded king Stephen in the crowne of England, the ſaid Arch-Bishop obtained of the king the Chancellorship of England for his Arch-Deacon, for hee ſuſpected the kinges youth, and feared the malice of certaine yong heades, by whom hee ſeemed to bee directed, leaſt that by their counſaile hee ſhould bee incited to take vpon him the gouerment of the realme by the lawe of conqueſt: for it ſeemed vnto him that hee had cõquered the Realme wheras in truth, it was nott ſoe: and therfore the Arch-Bishop procured ſuch à lord Chancellor by whoſe meanes and induſtry, the new king might bee ſtayed from attempting any thing againſt the Church; his

He was made Lord Chauncellor of Eng.

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malice tempered; and the insolency of his officers repressed who vnder colour of authority and instice, had conspired to make a prey, of the Church, and commonweale.

At his first entrance into that office, hee sustained so great and manifold difficultyes of weighty affaires, was enuironed with so many labours, oppressed with so many afflictions, set vpon with so many wiles, and exposed to so many snares of the courte, (or to speake more properly) of the courtiers, that hee vsed often times with teares to protest vnto the Arch-Bisbop, and others his freindes, hee was euery day weary of his life: and moreouer that next vnto his eternal saluation; he desired nothing more, then (without note of infamy) to deliuer himselfe from the alurements of the Courte, for albeeit the world seemed to applaude and flatter him with all her enticements, yet was hee neuer vnmindfull of his place, and the Church committed vnto him, wherby hee was constrained continually to contend, and striue; for the honor and safetie of the king, and secondly, for the good of the Church, and common wealth, both against the king himselfe, and his enemyes also, and by diuers sleightes to defeate diuers wiles by them intended against him: but his greatest greife was that hee was without intermission to fight against the beastes of the Courte, and continually to bee wrestling with a certaine Protheus (as the Prouerb 15.) so as if the grace of God, and his owne industry had not preserued him, hee was like euery houre haue bin throwne downe head long into ruyne and destruction.

His allegiance to the king and loue to the common weale.

In the time of his Chancellorship hee found so great fauour with the king, that after the decease of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, hee succeeded in that Sea, to gouern the Church of England; for the king, ha-

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Hee was made L. Archi-Bishop of Canterb.

uing had manifold tryall of him, deemed his fidelity, and magnanimity to bee fit for ſo high a dignity, and alſo that thee would haue a care of his profit, and gouerne all things in the Church, and Common wealth to his good liking, and moreouer hee did fore ſee, if it ſhould pleaſe God to cut him of by vntimely death, that hee would bee a faithfull Tutor for the education of his children, for ſurely, hee was a man of wonderfull great experience in the world, and one that would wiſely coniecture of the euent of things to comme: hauing by long experience, learned the charge and honor both belonging to his place: hee knew alſo the kings conditions and the pride of his officers, and how powerfull the malice of his Paraſites was, whervppon hee coniectured euidently, that by the acceptance of that dignity, hee ſhould loſe the fauor of God or elſe of the king: for it was impoſſible for him to pleaſe God, and to obſerue the kinges humor, neither could hee pleaſe the king, and preferre the lawe of God before his, and therefore for a ſeaſon hee would not accept of the promotion, which the king and other of his freindes perſwaded him vnto. But the prouidence of God preuayled, ſo as by the inſtant and vrgent perſwaſion of that honorable Cardinal Preiſt Piſanus, Legate of the Sea Apoſtolick, hee did ſatisfie the kinges deſire, and the perſwaſion of his freindes, chuſing rather to hazard the kinges diſpleaſure, then to giue way vnto the deſolation of the Church, and reſoluing either to protect it from ſo imminent danger of ſeruitude; or elſe (after the example of Chriſt) to lay downe his life for his sheepe, for the lay power, beereauing the Church, of her ancient priuiledges, tooke vpon it to determine all cauſes, as well Eccleſiaſticall as temporal: and as the people, ſo was the Clergie troaden vnder foote alſo, wherfore hee whom God had preor-

A faithfull Tutor to the kings iſſue.

He refuſed that promotion.

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dained to bee so greate à Prelate and Martyr, notwithstanding that some of his enemyes did labour against the ordinance of God, was elected with the general consent of all men.

After his consecration forth with, (putting of the old man) hee put on haire-cloth to Crucify the flesh with the concupiscence therof; and remembring that hee had taken vpon him the office of a Pastor and Doctour, hee performed the ministerie of à Preacher. All the time which hee could spare from his affaires of greatest importance, hee beestowed it for the most parte in prayer and reading: when hee was solitary hee did maruilously abound in teares, and in his celebration at the Aultar his behauiour was such, as if hee had beheld our lordes Passion in the flesh before his eyes, Hee did minister the Sacramēts with so great reuerence that the very handling of them, was able to informe the faith and manners of them that beheld him. Hee kept backe his hand from bribery and giftes, and cast away from him the filth of couetousnes: in counsell hee was prouidēt, in hearing of causes a diligent and indifferent iudge, in questions subtil, in answers ready, in iudgment iust, without respect of persons, and a strict executor of the law in all pointes. Vnder outward decency of apparrel hee was inwardly apparelled with the armour of à Christian souldier, which (that the merrit therof might not bee diminished through vaineglory,) hee was very carefull to hide from the world, and that, according to the saying of the wise man, his outward semblance might bee agreable to the world, whenas inwardly all thinges were contrary. In his place hee sat not downe to meate, vntill the poore were sent in before him, and that they might the better bee releiued with that which was left, hee would haue his table the more plentifull: Such as begged from dore to dore

His disciplina

His promesse to prayer.

Hee was a prouident Counseller.

His charitable releife of the poore.

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went not away empty handed from his gate: Hee cauſed his ſeruantes to viſit the houſes of ſicke and feeble perſons, and hee did viſit them himſelfe effectually with his beneuolence, ſuſtaining many of them dayly with meate drinke and cloth; for wheras his predeceſſor Theobald of happie memory did double the expences of his Predeceſſor beeſtowed in almes, hee like wiſe of a certaine religious emulation, thought good to redouble the like expences of his Predeceſſor alſo: for the performance of which charitable worke, hee did conſecrate the tenth parte of all his reuenues to that purpoſe. Hee vſed daily, in a certaine ſecret Cell, vpon his knees to waſh the feete of thirteene poore folke, in remembrance of Chriſt, giuing to euery one of them after they had well dyned, fourepēce which if any time hee could not attend in his owne perſon (which ſeldome hapned) hee cauſed it diligently, to bee ſupplyed by a ſubſtitute. Hee entertained religious perſons with ſo great a reſpect, as if hee had receaued a dinine preſence, or an Angel in their perſons. In hoſpitality, and other workes of liberality, hee was ſo plentifull, that his riches ſeemed the common treaſury of all mē: and albeeit his houſe was garniſhed with rich and pretious furniture, yet did hee contemne riches and worldly treaſure as dung, for Chriſt; vſing tranſitory thinges to ſerue his neceſſity, and not to ſatisfie his concupiſcences and pleaſure. In his diet he was temperate obſeruing therewith a mediocrity, that by too much auſterity hee might not bee taxed of ſuperſtition, or by ingurgitation eſteemed a Glutton. Hee deteſted no leſſe the note of hypocriſie then hee did the imputation of diſhoneſty, eſteeming it the beſt kind of faſting to obſerue the meaſure of ſobrietie, in which attire being poore in ſpiritt, vnder a merri countenance couering a contrite harte, in a delicate table preferring

He doubled the largiſs of his Predeceſſor.

Hee daily waſht the feete of 13. poore people.

Hee was very liberal.

His contempt of worldly riches

He was temperate in his diet.

He deteſted hypocriſie.

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penury, rising often from the bourde rather empty then full bellied, and more often refreshed then satisfyed, in keeping himselfe euer within the compasse of sobrietie. Hee conformed himselfe to the manners of those hee accompanyed withall, after the example of the Apostles, who by wholsom dispensation, became all vnto all to the intent to gaine all. Hee deliuered the poore from the hand of the mighty, as one that was truly, giuen by God, to bee a father to the poore, and a conforter of those that mourne. Hee reproued liberally, the sinne of the nobility, knowing that where the spirit of God is, there is alsoe liberty; yet that hee might not seeme to cast holy things to dogges, or pearles before swine, hee would first prudently, considere the nature of those hee did admonish or reprehend, and being conducted by the spirituall vnction, his communications and sermons did seeme wonderfully lerned to all sortes of hearers, both in the weight of matter and eloquent deliuery. After meales and his necessarie sleepe, vntill his busines called him away, hee passed the time in reading of the scripture, or else in honest communication, lest the enemy should take occasion there at to deride his Sabaoth. All the time which hee could without the great detriment of his body, hee did bestowe in prayer, teares, and holy meditation, keeping chastity in his body, cleanesse in his harte, modesty in his wordes, and iustice in his workes, that hee might moue those by his example which, hee was to teach by his doctrine. Hee did without ceasing impugne scysme and heresie, and would neuer bee induced to keepe companie with excommunicated persons: for whosoeuer was an ennemy to sound doctrine, hee did esteeme him as his enemy in Christ, and beeing feruent in the zeale of iustice, hee endeauoured that euery man should enioy his owne,

He was a father to poore people.

Hee was both learned and eloquent.

Hee greatly impugned scysme and heresies.

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without reſpect of perſons or receauing of bribes.

S. Thomas retourneth into Englād from the Counſel at Towers.

And though at his returne from the counſell of Towers into England (being the ſecond yeere after his conſecration) hee was receiued of the king, as a father of his ſonne, with fauourable countenance, a good reſpect and eſteeme, yet ſoone after diſcontentments beegan to ariſe, whilſt Saint Thomas, without any offence offered to the king, exerciſed the office of an Euangelicall paſtor, in vndergoing which charge, whilſt hee endeauoured to recouer the Graunges of the Church vſurped by the layety, and wrongfully alienated from his predeceſſors, hee incurred the diſpleaſures of many and mightie mē. Yea whē he touched the kinges exchecker to the quicke, by litle and litle the king himſelfe was moued to indignation againſt him. For in England had the ſame vnconſcionable cuſtome preuailed, that the exchecker couetouſly challenged to it ſelfe the reuenues aryſing from the vacancyes of Churches. Where fore S. Thomas required that for two ſeas of Bishopprickes, beeing now long vacant, there might bee ſpeedily Bishops ordeyned. It did alſo ſomewhat trouble the kinges mind, when S. Thomas beeing created Archbishop, gaue abſolutely ouer the office of Chauncellorship, according to that of the Apoſtle: no man fighting vnder the banner of God, intangleth himſelfe in temporal buſineſſes. For the king deſired to retaine him ſtill in his ſeruice. And for a greater addition of diſlike, Thomas moreouer forbad the vnlawfull exaction of a Tribute: Heerewithall at the ſame time concurred, that hee deliuered not ouer to the ſecular Courte, a Preiſt condemned of murder, but beeing degraded, committed him to a Monaſterie. The like hapned concerning one Phillip a Cannon, and yet a greeuous offendor, whom the Archbiſhop enforced not to ſuffer punishment in ſuch ſorte as the

The ground of the diſcord beet weene the king and S. Thomas.

2. Timoth. 2

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king would haue it, but only chasticed him with Ecclesiasticall censures.

The king by reason heerof beecommeth wrathfull, because there was, according to the direction of the holy Cannons, a milder proceeding with those of the Clergy whoe offended, where vpon they might growe more insolent in wickednes: Hee beegan to demanund instantly of Thomas the Archbishop, that Clearkes committing such crimes might after the Canonicall punishment inflicted on them, bee deliuered ouer to the secular Tribunal. But this motion of the king was gainsayed by S. Thomas and many other Bishopps associate with him, all of them humblie beeseeching his Maiestie to abstayne from these attemptes, but hee was rather more enflamed with anger. Whereupon Robert writeth in these wordes: but the king somewhat moued heerewith, yet much more incensed because hee sawe the Archbishop and Bishoppes with mutuall assent (as hee supposed) bent against him, asked of them presently beeing thus constantly vnited, whether they would obserue the customes beelonging to his crowne, adding that these beeing in the raigne of his grandfather formerly obserued by Archbishops and Bishoppes, by priuate and priuiledged persons, ought not by tracte of time, with a seuere sentence, to bee condemned. Whereupon the Archbishop hauing first consulted with his brethren, answered: Hee and his brethren would obserue them, sauing the prerogatiue of theire order, and the same euery Bishop being asked one by one, did turne by turne seuerally answer: only Hilarie Bishop of Chichester hearing the king more enraged for these wordes soe vttered alike by them all, without aduise of the Archbishopps, altered some, saying, hee would absolutely obserue in good faith the customes of the kingdome: and for a seeming good

The causes of the kinges indignation.

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intent truly (as I thinke) hee ſaid it, that hee might yet ſoe appeaſe the kinges mind. But the king was nothing at all calmed; yea he waxed more wroth: and turning himſelfe to the Archbishop and Bishops vpon the hearing of this vniforme and one anſwer of them all, ſaid: A battell was ranged againſt him, and that poyſon lurked in this captious word, *Sauing the prerogatiue of their order.* Wherefor hee required that abſolutely without addition, they would promiſe to obſerue the cuſtomes of the kingdome. The Archbishop anſwered: they had ſworn to him fidelitie, that is to ſay, life, limme, and earthly honour, ſauing the prerogatiue of their order, and that in this earthly honour the cuſtomes of the kingdome were comprehended; and hee would not binde himſelfe to the obſeruation of them in any other ſorte then they had formerly ſworne. Now when a great parte of the day was in this fashion paſſed, the king beeing all the while vexed, without any farwell to the Bishops, ſuddenly departed the Courte in great wrath and indignation.

The Kinges intemperate anger.

The King was accuſtomed in the diſturbance of his minde, through the paſſion of anger to bee vnreaſonably and outragiouſly altered and tranſported; as by an example or two I shall heere laye open beefore you, whereby in the very entrance of this controuerſie now raiſed, you may vnderſtand how difficulte and dangerous it was to contend with him in any caſe were it neuer ſoe iuſt. For in the 44. epiſtle written to S. Thomas concerning the king, thus wee reade: *The King on a certaine day, when hee was at Cane, and a buſines which hee had with the King of Scottes, dealte ſeriously againſt Richard de Humet, whoe ſeemed to defend the cauſe of the King of Scottes, brake out into diſgracefull wordes, and openly called him Traitor, and heereupon enflamed with his wonted furie, threwe his cap from his*

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beadle, vngirte his belte, hurled away his cloake and garmentts, where with hee was apparelled, cast of with his owne handes a couerlet of silke from his bedd, and sitting as it were in a dunghill of strawe, beegan to chewe the strawes. And these tokens not soe much of wrath as of madnes hee then vttered. Of whom in the nept epistle is written thus: *A boy whoe deliuered a letter to his Maiestie: incurred a great danger, the king endeauouring with his fingers to plucke out his eyes, soe far as it came to the effusion of blood.* And moreouer Peeter of Bloyes in his epistle to Roger the Deane, concerning the kings conditions, saith thus: *Bee carfull in this, that you come not to our lord the king to treate of your busines, vntill you make your way by mee, or some other, whoe is acquainted with his customes; for hee is a lamb soe long as his minde is pleased, but a lyon, or more cruell then a lion, when hee is vehemently angreed. It is not a light matter to procure his indignation, in whose power is honour and confusion, inheritance and banishment, life and death.* And in his epistle to the Arch-Bishop of Panorma hee hath these words in describing the kinges countenance: *His eyes are round, while his minde is appeased, milde as a Doue and simple; but in wrath and the garboyle of his harte, they are as it were sparkeling with fire, and lightning with fury,* and after: *whom hee hath once hated, hee scarce euer receiueth into grace and fauour gaine.* Thus far Bloys. *Peeter of Bloys Epistola 75.*

Heereby (reader) I say you may conceiue, with how great a danger these Bishop were now to withstand him. What followed hereuppon Robert proceedeth to recyte.

When they departed from the King, Thomas the Archbishop seuerely reprehended the afore mentioned Bishop, beecause without his and the other Bishopps consentes, hee presumed to alter from the answere generally made by

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them all. The next day the King demaunding it, were deliuered into his handes the Charters and honoures, which the Archbishop held from the time of his Chauncellorship, and neither ſaluting nor beeing ſaluted by the Bishops, yea without their priuity, hee ſecretly and before day remoued from London; which was vndoubtedly an apparant proofe of his exceſſiue wrath and diſpleaſure. What followed heereupon ſhall bee declared the next yeere wherin it hapned.

The king diſſolued the vnion of the Bishoppes.

Matters ſtanding in this ſorte, the king through the wicked counſail of the malicious, beegan to endeauour howe this vnited body, I meane the ioynt agreement of mindes betweene the Archbishop and Bishoppes, whereby they were made abſolutely inuincible might bee rent a ſunder, and ſoe diſſolued, bee eaſily vanquished by him. Whereupon it came to paſſe, that to pleaſure the king, the inferiour members rebelled againſt theire head, ād if at any time the Archbishop would attēpt with Canonicall authority to repreſſe them, they would preſently appeale to the Apoſtolicall Sea. And verely the Saint beeing in regard heereof entangled in extreame ſtreyghtes of his minde, certifyed the ſame to Pope Alexander, ſending together with his letter a meſſanger. The Pope compaſſionating his eſtate, returned to him this conſolatorie anſwere, beeginning in the booke with this inſcription: *Alexander Pope to Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury:* in the firſt onſett of his tribulation was this epiſtle written, the ſelfe ſame yeere in the end of the month of October.

Lib. 1. Epiſt. 17.

Pope Alexander to S. Thomas.

We haue with attentiue diligence heard the letter ſent to vs by your brotherhood, together with that which your Meſſanger deliuered by word of mouth, and withall conſidered the greiuous ſtreights and bitter ſorrowes, where with your mind is continually afflicted: vpon the hearing and vnderſtanding whereof, our ſpirit is moued and

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and exceedingly troubled, whose comforte is to bee gladly dilighted in your prosperous successe; and contrare wise in your aduersityes to partake by all meanes with you in aggreiuances, as with our deareſt brother; wherefore as a constant and wise man, calling oft to mynde, how it is said, that the Apostles went reioyceing from the sight of the Counsaile, because they were made worthie to suffer reproach for the name of Iesus. Vndergoe with patience the burden of these extremities, and let not your spirit bee encumbred more then is conuenient, but recouer to your selfe worthie consolation, that wee together with you may bee ioyntly recomforted in him, whoe hath reserued you in this instant of neccßitie for strēthning the fertresse of the Catholicke and Christian truth: and whose good pleasure it is to wash away, and chastice with sundrie afflictions the spottes and blemmishes of the offence, by you vnlawfully committed; that they may not bee seene to bee reserued for punishment, in the last seuere examination. What remayneth let it not bee troublesome, nor (as wee vnderstand in your letter sent by your Clearke) any whit dreadfull vnto you in that they appeale against you to the Apostolical Sea; because as a thing gratefull and acceptable to vs, our pleasure is, that if they, whoe bring the appeale against you, perchance appeare before vs; you your selfe (if you thinke good) setting aſyde all doubtes and delayes, shall prosecute the appeale. Neither yet can euer any man vnder pretence of the Roman Church affright with feare or doubt your constancy, because wee, by the grace of God, will bee carefull with all diligence to conserue (as fare as with iustice and reason wee can) the rightes and dignities of the Church committed to the charge of your selfe, as the party whom indeed wee haue found a constant and couragious defender of the same. *Actes of the Apost. cap. 5.*

Moreouer wee, inioyning cōmaūd your brotherhood, that you retire your selfe vnto your Church of Conterbury, and

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retayning with you ſome few, and thoſe moſt neceſſarie attẽdates, you doe as litle as may bee trauaill through the countrey. And laſtly wee commend this eſpecially to your prouidence, that you neuer ſuffer your ſelfe to bee enforced vnder any pretence of feare, or aduerſitie (which may poſſiblie beefall you) to renounce the rightes and dignities belonging to your Church. Dated at Senon the 7. of the Kalendes of November. Theſe were the words of Pope Alexander in the beeginning of this perſecution, ſoe prepareing his ſouldier, to the incounter of the next enſueing battel.

Vpon the receipt of which letters, Thomas returned theſe againe to Pope Alexander, by Henry his familiar friend, being for that purpoſe ſent to the Courte of his Holynes.

The letter of S Thomas to Pope Alexander lib. 1. epiſt. 78.

The letters of comforte, which your Fatherhood vouchſafed to ſend vs may truly imparte an ample remedy to a mynde intãgled in ordinary troubles: or at leaſt if our incũbred thoughtes, were only bent againſt one miſcheife, wee might conceiue thereby ſome hope of relaxation. But in regard that malice encreaſeth daily in power, iniuryes are likewiſe multiplyed, not to vs, but to Chriſt, yea becauſe to Chriſt, therefore rather to vs, and ſtormes like waues, ſucceeding one after an other, wee ſee nothing but ſhipwracke threatening inſtantly to deuoure vs; nor any aduiſe lefte, but that with our vttermoſt ability awaking Chriſt, as it were ſleeping in the ſhip, wee crye out: Matth. 5. *Lord ſaue us, wee periſh. And heerin truly iniquity hath got a more fit occaſion to vent her malice, becauſe hee ſeeth the ſtate of the Roman Church as now more weakened: whereby appeareth that whatſoeuer it bee, good or ill, ſweete or ſower, which floweth downe on the head, the ſame deſcending by the beard, leaueth not the loweſt hemme of the garment vntouched. Ieſus Chriſt is deſpoyled of that, which by his blood hee purchaſed. The ſecular*

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power hath layd hands on his very patrimony: Soe as neither the decrees of the holy fathers, nor the constitutions of the Cannons (whose very name among vs is growne odious) are as now of force to patronise the Clergie, whoe in tymes past haue bin by speciall priuiledge exempted from this secular iurisdiction: and because it is long and tedious to rechearse or prosecute in writting the iniuryes wee endure; wee send to your Fatherhood Master Henry a man both to your Holynes, and vs, faithfull and familiar, to whose relation wee haue commended all things in such sorte to bee declared particularly, vnto you as hee hath seene and heard them, and if it pleaseth you, credit him as much as you would our selfe. Know you neuertheless, that if it might bee, wee would far rather visit you in person, then by an other: wee speake confidently to you as to our father and lord: and what wee say wee humbly beeseech may bee concealed in all silence. Nothing remayneth safe to vs, since allmost all thinges are disclosed to the King which are spoken in our priuate chamber, or whispered in our eare. Woe bee to vs, whoe are reserued to these times, in whose dayes these mischeifes are beefallen: whoe in our former estate haue enioyed soe great a liberty, which now is recompenced with a hard and most vile slauery. Wee would at the least haue fledd, that wee might not see the patrimony of the crucifyed giuen ouer to spoyle; but whither we knowe not, vnlesse vnto him who is our refuge, and vertue. Concerning the Welshmen and Owen, who calleth himselfe a prince, wee beeseech your Lordship to bee prouident, beecause our lord the King is heere with wonderfully disturbed, and moued to indignation. And soe deere father and lord, wee wish you all felicity. To the same purpose; and by the same Messinger, did hee writte to Humbald Cardinal and Bishop of Ostia: hee sent alsoe letters to Bernard Bishop and Cardinall of Portua: and likewise to Albert *Lib. 1. epist. 19.20.21.82*

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Preiſt and Cardinall: with an other to Hyacinthe Deacon Cardinall; all which are reſerued intire in the ſame booke.

Alexander afterwards, ſomewhat foreſeeing theſe combates to come, prepareth himſelfe for reſiſtance, admoniſhing as well the Archbiſhop, as all other Biſhops of England, not to yeeld a whit to the king, againſt the Eccleſiaſticall liberty, and not to obſerue, whatſoeuer they had promiſed theyr prince, in derogation of that immunity: which was ſignifyed in writing to Thomas, and all the Biſhops of England with theſe words.

Lib. 1 epiſt. 91. *Wee would haue yee knowe, that yee haue vndertaken the burden of your paſtorall authority, to the end yee ſhould gouerne the Churches, committed vnto your charge, to the honour of God, and the profit and ſaluation of your flockes in ſuch ſorte as the Franciſes of the ſame Churches ſhould not by your defaultes in any wiſe bee impaired, but conſerued ſtill in their eſtates, by your ſtudyes and endeauours: whereupon wee will and command your brotherhoode, by our Apoſtolicall letters, and enioyne you in the vertue of obedience, that if the renowned King of England, ſhall at any time require of yee any thing, contrary to the Eccleſiaſticall liberty, yee preſume not in any caſe heerein to ſatisfy his minde: nor yet beecome, in any ſorte, bound vnto him, eſpecially againſt the Church of Rome: neither yet bee yee ſoe bould, as to bring in the forme of any new deuiſed promiſe, or oath, but only to obſerue that, which Biſhops haue bin accuſtomed to ſweare vnto their Kinges. And if yee knowe that in any thing of this nature, yee haue tyed your ſelues vnto your King, obſerue not by any meanes this your promiſe, but bee rather carefull to recall it, and endeauour to bee reconciled to God his Church, for the lapſe of this vnlawfull promiſe.* Thus wrote Alexander, the moſt vigilant keeper of the ſacred

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Cannons, admitting nothing that was vsurped against them in fauour of the king, allthough otherwise hee were very much beeh oulding to the same prince, for late receiued benefittes. The rest followeth the next yeere.

Heere followeth the yeere 1164. and the 12. indiction A yeere to the Catholike Church, in regard of many aduersities shee susteyned therein, replenished with greifes, and troubles. And first concerning the state of English affaires; more dangerous floods were daily there raised, tending not only to ouerthrowe the Primate of Canterbury, together with the whole Church ef England; but also to drowne (if it had bin possible) the holy Catholike Church it seife, together with her high Bishoppe Alexander. For Henry king of England prosecuting S. Thomas with an obstinate mind, turned all his endeauours against the same Pope Alexander, to remoue him from his sea. But how all these deadly attemptes were managed, receiue heere the relation.

After this turbulent encounter betweene the Bishops and the king, and the departure caused by the kinges inraged fury; for eschewing the imminent mischeifes whose forces daylie encreased, and auoyding farr greater ruines, which threatned the ouerthrow of the Catholicke Church, S. Thomas is beesieged with the often and sundrie perswasions of many Bishops and Abbotts, that hee should not in regard of one only word, vnseasonably and vnreasonably cast himselfe together with the whole Church, into soe open and apparant danger; one Abbot among the rest affirming this to bee the opinion of Pope Alexander himselfe.

Thomas at lenght perswaded theseby reasons (sayeth Hubertin Quadrilogus) charity enforceing him thereunto, came to the King at oxford, and promised hee

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would alter the word, which the king tooke so offensiuely. Whereupon the King, his anger beeing now somewhat asswaged shewed the Archbishop a more pleasing countenance, though inferiour to his wonted fashion: the King moreouer sayd hee would haue according to this forme, an instrumēt or obligation made for the obseruation of the royal customes, in the publicke sight and hearing of the bishops and nobility of the kingdome. But when Thomas was aduertised of the gathering together of a general assembly foreseing the ensuing mischeifes, hee beegan to recall his consent; yet againe hee is assaulted by the intreaty of many, whereby hee is enforced for that instant to yeelde, by the example of Peeter, conforming himselfe to the Iewes, with the Iewes at Antioch, and of Paule often exercising the same. A congregation of Bishoppes is appointed to bee called at Claringtone, concerning the time of which conuocation, thus much is rehearsed in the first booke of Epistles, after the eleuenth epistle: *In the yeere of our lords Incarnation 1164. the fifte yeere of Pope Alexander, and the tenth of the most famous king of England, Henry the second*; concerning the day, this is added in the end: *These thinges weere handled, the fourth day before the Purification of S. Mary the perpetuall Virgin, to wit, the 30. day of Ianuarie.* For those whoe were present at this assemblie, they are recounted to bee, all the Bishoppes of England together with the Earles, Barons, Magistrates, and nobility. For the matters then in action, receiue them thus from the wordes of Vvilliam in Quadrilogus.

Galat 2.

The detestable conuenticle at Claringonne.

The king therefore (as it seemed) feruently thirsting after an agreement beetweene the kingdome and the preisthood, but lesse prouidēt for the state of himselfe and his Archbisshoppe, summoned at Claringtoune a Parliament of the

A Parliamēt

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whole nation. Whither, when the Bishopes and peeres were come, the King importunately required, that thinges promised to him might bee performed. But the Archbishop, although hee promised to consent to the King, beeing neuertheless suspitions of the promise, which the King exacted, and beecause Kinges very often exceeding all measure extend their power to thinges vnlawfull, rather made choyce to hazard the kinges indignatiõ, then to offend the law of God, and to breake the brazen serpent in peeces, rather then wickednes should bud out among the people of God. Now although hee feared banishment and imprisonnement, yet preferring God beefore these, hee absolutely withstood it. The King threateneth, he refuseth: the King raueth, the other in secret, craueth Gods assistance. In the meane while, the Bishoppes of Salisbury and Norwich, fearing a new punishment, for an old grudge, and dreading much, by reason of this distempered tyme, with weeping words beesought the Archbishop, to haue compassion on his Cleargie, to relent from the willfullnes of his minde, least himselfe should incurre imprisonment, his Cleargie banishment, themselues the iudgment of an opprobrious death. And withall two Earles, the mightiest of the kingdome, assayling him, said, that vnlesse hee would conforme himselfe to the kinges pleasure, they themselues by his Maiesties commandment, should bee constreyned to that violence, which would brand the King and themselues which an eternall infamie.

This man therefore of inuincible constancy, and grownded in the worke of Christ, moued neither with the sunshine of flattery nor the stormes of terrors, is notwithstanding in the end, pulled away from the bosome of truth, and the breast of his mother, vnto whose liberty hee had soe louingly cleaued: and lest beeing a conquerour in these liites, hee should bee puffed vp with pride of mynde; fainting then, when hee should

The frailty of S. Thomas.

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cheifely haue fought, is lefte, for an hower to fall, that, after a faulting fall, hee might riſe againe; that falling hee might acknowledge humane frailtie, and reſeing, vnderſtand the deuine mercy towards him. In like ſotte becauſe no man shonld haue confidence in his owne ſtrength, Peeter the prince of the Apoſtles, and holy Dauid fell; and ſoe S. Thomas is lefte deſtitute to his temptation for a tyme, that afterwards beeing mindefull of his frailty, hee might ariſe with more courage to the combate. Wherefore beeing the third tyme admonished by Richard (a man of great accompt and Prior, as then, of the Temple of Ieruſalem) to haue a care of himſelfe, and compaſſion on the Clergie, hee endured no longer their ſubmiſſiue petitions, their often kneeleinges: for they ſeemed to crye out, as if euen now they ſawe the very ſwoardes threatening ouer his head, and lamented the intended murder as a preſent death. Whereupon moued rather with commiſeration on the Clergie, then on himſelfe hee conſented by perſwaſion of their counſail, to ſubmitt himſelfe to the Kinges pleaſure. And therefor, beefore all the reſt, the Archbishop bound himſelfe firſt in that preſcribeb forme, that is to ſay, hee would obſerue the cuſtome of the Crowne, in good faith: ſuppreſſing thoſe wordes: ſauing the prerogatiue of his order. Adding allſo this caution, with an oath: that hee promiſed to performe this in the word of truth: ſoe heapeing ſin vpon ſin. And all the Bishops ſeuerally, in ſemblable manner, ſware the ſame.

The Recognition, and ingroſſement of the Royal cuſtomes.

And incontinently, an obligation beeing drawne in this forme, by certaine Peeres of the realme (who as their offices required, were lerned in ſuch proceedings (there was made a Recogniſance of the royall cuſtomes, that as publickly, ſoe they might expreſſely bee recited. But when many were now rehearſed, and

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more yet as it seemed to bee set downe, the Archbishop interrupting, said that hee neither was one of the auncientes of the kingdome, whereby hee could knowe the old customes of the Crowne, neither had hee continued long in his Archbishoppricke, and therefor said, hee was in these matters ignorant. Moreouer becaus the day was soe far spent, it was conuenient a busines of soe great importance, should bee referred vnto the next morning. His motion was liked and thereupon they retired themselues to their lodginges,

Returning on the morrowe, to prosecute the busines beegunne, the customes of the Crowne, which were lefte the day before vnrecited, were recounted, expressed, and reduced into a writing, made after the manner of an obligation, and styled with the name of the kings customes. Notwithstading many of them (as it is said) were not the kinges, but the vomite of emulation, and poyson of enuy, for hatred of the Archbishop, and to bring the Church into bondage; yea the king himselfe beeing absolutely ignorant of them, becaus some men intended by this sinfull suttlety to sowe the cocke of dissention betweene him and the Archbishop. Neither yet the king who was yet but a yong man, nor the Archbishop, who was lately elected, could knowe the customes of the kingdome, but by their relation. And if any one is desirous to see, what these kingly customes were, hee shall finde them sett forth in the end of the history. Whereupon a litle after hee saith; and wee heere will declare them. Then hee thus proceedeth in his intended discourse.

The customes beeing therefore written and drawne into the forme of an obligation, the king requireth of the Archbishop and Bishops, that for the more surety

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and confirmation of them, they would ſett to their ſeales. But the Archbishop, allthough exceedingly moued with greife, neuertheleſſe diſſembleth it, beeing as then vnwilling to diſcontent the the king, nether abſolutely denying ſaid: it was awhile to bee delayed, and albeeit they were ready to doe it, hee affirmed notwithſtanding in reguard of the weightines of the buſines, it was conuenient to bee deferd a tyme. Since according to the wiſe man: without counſell no matter of importance is to bee performed. And afterwards, ſome deliberation beeing had: hee and the Bishops might more decently bee required to accomplish it. Notwithſtanding hee tooke with him one parte of the deede conteyning the afore ſaid cuſtomes, to the end hee might cary with him his cauſe; the other parte of this obligation, the Arrchbishop of Yorke receiued; the third, the king himſelfe reteyned, to be enrolled among his royall Charters. And ſoe that day they were diſmiſſed,

Eccleſ. 32.

Heere firſt of all you may diſproue that which Roger writeth in the Chronikles of England, towitt, that S. Thomas promiſed thoſe vnlawfull thinges to the king, by Pope Alexanders perſwaſion; for if hee did it, not only by the conſent, but alſo by the perſwaſion of the Pope, why did hee pennance, beefore the ſaid Pope for the ſame, as a moſt heynous ſinne, if the Pope himſelfe should bee the author of his offence? but let vs heare what remayneth.

Beeſides the hiſtory of Quadrilogus mentioned by vs, there is added in the end thereof, a more exact narration of all thinges, which hapned after the diſſolution of the ſame deteſtable conuentickle, held at Claringtonne, vntill the departure of Pope Alexander out of Fraunce: from whence wee haue inſerted the hiſtory heere to bee recited, beeginning with the pennance

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of S. Thomas, in these words: *And hee departing from the Courte of the king, his followers by chance beegan to murter among themselues, some affirming (according to the custome) that in regard of this distressed tyme, matters ought to bee thus caryed: others disdaining, that for the pleasure of a man, the authoritie of the Ecclesiastical liberty should perish. Among whom one, instantly pressing more earnestly, said. The publick power disturbeth all, iniquitie rageth against Christ himselfe, the Sinagog of Sathan profaneth Gods sanctuarie, princes haue sate and assembled in one against Christ our Lord: no man is safe who loueth equity: in the iudgement of the world they are accounted wise, and are at this time worshipped, who flatter Princes in following their pleasures: yea this tempest hath shaken the very pillars of the Church: while the Pastor is fled: the scattered sheepe are subiect to the wolfe: to conclude, what place remaineth now secure for innocency? who shall fight in defence of this Bullwarke or who shall triumphe in this battell, the general beeing ouercome? And thus hee expostulated the matter, who caryed the Crosse beefore my lord of Canterbury, the rest beeing silent for sorrowe: and with great libertie hee added, assumeing in this sorte a parable: what virtue (saith hee) hath the man reserued to himselfe, who hath lost his constancy and renowne? whom meane you by this, my sonne? quoth the lord of Canterbury. Euen your selfe, (answered hee) it concerneth you: because this day you haue for euer lost both conscience and fame, hauing left beehind you to posteritie, an example odious beefore God, and contrarie to honesty, while your handes consecrated to almightie God, were stretched out to obserue those accursed customes, and your selfe conniued with the Ministers of sinfull Sathan for the confusion of the Ecclesiastical liberty.* This was assuredly the Cocke, at whose croweing Peeter awakened, did weepe bitterly. For the Author proceedeth.

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S Thomas recouereth his laps, & impoſeth pennance on himſelfe.

my lord of Canterbury therefore wayled and lamented, and with ſighes and groanes ſaid: I repent mee, yea greiuouſly and trembling with the horror of mine offence, I comdemne my ſelfe as vnworthy to ſerue heereafter as a Preiſt at his altar, whoſe Church I haue ſoe baſely ſould. I will reſt ſilent therefore ſitting downe to ſorrowe, vntill Allmightie God ſhall viſit mee from aboue, that I may deſerue from our lord himſelfe, or from my lord the Pope, to receaue abſolution. And preſently thereupon hee ſent a meſſinger to the Sea Apoſtolicke.

Libr. 1 epiſt. 20.

Pope Alexander had lerned all this beefore by the relation of others, and moued with exceeding compaſſion, did write theſe letters to S. Thomas, whereby hee recomforted him now drowned thus in ſorrowe, and abſolued him ftom the oath. The letters are theſe.

Pope Alexander abſolueth S Thomas frō this ſinne.

Your Brotherhood vnderſtandeth how wee haue, heard and by the reporte of ſome bin certifyed, that in conſideration of a certaine offence, you haue determined to forbeare the celebration of Maſſe, and abſtayne from the conſecration of the body and blood of our lord Which truly of what importance it is, eſpecially in a man of your eminency, and how great a ſcandal may enſue thereupon, I would haue you with carefull conſideration to ponder, and weigh the ſame with your watchfull diſcretion. For you ought with prudence diligently to conceaue, that there is very great difference, where ſinnes are wilfully committed with deliberation: and where on the other ſide they are donne out of ignorance, or neceſſity: For it is apparant that wee ought to proceed in one ſorte with theſe which are acted by a mans owne free will: and in an other manner with thoſe which (as it is ſayd) are of ignorance, or the compulſion of neceſſity: and one way the firſt, an other way the laſt are by men of iudgment and wiſedome to bee handled and meaſured, as by the teſtimonyes of holy Scriptures wee are taught. Your intention giueth the name to your

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worke: for as in an other place wee reade: Sinne is soe far voluntarie, as if it bee not voluntarie, it is no sinne: and our allmighty Lord, respecteth not the action of the worker, but rather considereth the intention, and discerneth the will. If therefore you call to minde, that you haue committed any thing, whereof your owne conscience ought to accuse you, whatsoeuer it is, wee aduise you to confesse it in the Sacrament of Pennance, to a Preist of discretion and prudence, which beeing performed, our mercifull Lord, who looketh much more to the harte then to the facte, will through the commiseration of his accustomed pitty, forgiue it you: and wee, beeing confident of the meritts of S. Peeter, and S. Paule his Apostles, doe absolue you from what is committed, and release your brotherhood thereof by the Apostolicke authority: counselling, and commanding, that heereafter you abstayne no more in this respect, from the celebration of Masse. Dated at Senon the Kalends of Aprill. Thus wrote Alexander. But Iohn of Salisbury in his epistle to Peeter the writer (I thinke of Bloys) which beeing omitted, in the often recited booke of epistles, is afterwards placed in the end of the volume, affirmeth, the sinne of S. Thomas, not bee excused, but rather declared, to bee purged by pennance: for hee saith. I cannot excuse his promise at Clarington, whereunto hee was drawne by the counsell of the Bishopps: because such a promise was not to bee made: but confession washed away the offence, hauing receiued solemne pennances from the Popes holynes, who in the presence of many, by the Apostolical authority condemned those peruerse customes. Soe writeth Iohn. Now the former recited history proceedeth thus.

The King in the meane time, perceaued that my Lord of Canterbury would flie of from this promise, especially in that hee openly refused to seale the charter of these customes, according to the agreement:

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Whereupon his Maieſtie being very bitterly incenſed, beegan to vexe him with more greiuous and exquiſite moleſtations, in ſuch wiſe, as it was apparant to all vnderſtanding men, the blood and life, of the Archbiſhop was thirſted after. Among other matters the king ſoe wrought, as hee ſent meſſangers to Pope Alexander, and required two thinges at his hands; firſt that hee would grant the legantine authority (which was vſually committed to the Archbishop of Canterbury) vnto the Archbishop of Yorke: then that the Pope would confirme the artickles of the cuſtomes, publiſhed in the Parliament of Claringtonne. Vpon receipt of which meſſage, Alexander beeing on all ſides beeſieged with exceeding extremities, ſeeing this warre now turned on the Apoſtolicall Sea, laboured with his beſt and moſt ready endeauonrs, to calme and appeaſe the king, and ſoe to yeeld to him inſome what, which neuertheleſſe should with no preiudice derogate from the Chuch of Canterbury: and thereupon did write in this ſorte to the Archbishop.

The King incenſed againſt Saine Thomas ſendeth an embaſſage to the Pape.

Lib. 1 epiſt 4 The Popes epiſtle to S. Thomas cõcerning the Kinges demandes.

Although in regard of the wiſdome of your minde, and ſincerity of your faith, wee would euer loue your perſon with a more plentifull ſweetnes of charitie, and a more enflamed deſire, and with a fare more feruent affection, ſeeke the honour and exaltation of you as our moſt deare brother, it is notwithſtanding beehoofefull to vs, and you (who are a greate pillar of the Church) warely to weigh the qualityes of the times and with a prouident mederation and diſpenſation, to mitigate the wrath of the incenſed king. You (on whom God hath beeſtowed a large talent of wiſdome and grace) doe truly ſee in your diſcretion, in what ſorte our moſt deare ſonne in Chriſt, Henrie the renowned king of England, maintaineth an outragious courſe in the gouerment of his kingdome, and deſireth to haue the ſame vnlawfull proceedinges ſtrenthned with

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the authority of the Church of Rome: whereby they may obtaine the greater confirmation and fauour. Whereupon, when in times past, hee more instantly required of vs, and our brethren, by our reuerent brother the Bishoppe of Lyons, and our beeloued sonne the Archdeacon of Poyters, that hee might haue the power Legantine of all England, graunted to the Arrchbishop of Yorke: and bee sought also that wee would command as well you, as all the Bishops vniuersally to keepe and conserue the ancient customes, and dignities of his kingdome: because wee did not yeeld to his desire, according to his owne will, instantly vpon returne of his embassadors, scarce hearing the answer receaued from vs, hee sent our beeloued sonnes Geffry his Archdeacon, and Master Iohn, vnto our presence: and by them most earnestly required at our handes, not only the former, but also other far more vnreasonable demands, and to the end wee should yeelde an easyer way to his desire, hee procured letters vnto vs from your brotherhood: and also the foresaid Bishop of Yorke: For as hee prayed vs beefore, that the ancient customes, and dignitys might, by our command, bee conserued: soe now againe of late, hee most earnestly requested, that in like sorte, as your selfe, and others had promised to obserue them, they might in the same manner bee assured to him, and his posterity, by the Sea Apostolicke. But wee reiected his petition. Notwithstanding, least wee should incite him to ouermuch bitternes, and more passionate trouble of mynde, against vs and you: least also it might bee suspected, that this was any way hindred in regard of your selfe: moreouer fearing hee might breake out into a more furious rage, against you, and beeing therefore desirous to bee more prouident for you, and our selues, with consideration of the dangerous times, wee yealded so far to the king, as to grante the Legantine letters, to the a foresaid Archbishop. And for that subiectes are truly bound to submitt themselues to

How far the Pope graunted or denyed the Kings requeste.

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their Princes deſires, and obey their wille; wee aduiſe counſail, and by all meanes exhorte your wiſedome, that as a prouident and diſcreete man, meaſuring the neceſſity of the time, and with faithfull conſideration foreſeeing, what aduerſityes may happen by reaſon thereof, to you and your Church, you would endeuour to yeelde to your King in all thinges, ſauing euer the honour of your Eccleſiaſticall dignity, and inſtant labor to recouer to your ſelfe his grace and fauour; leaſt in doeing otherwiſe, you diſquiet him, to the hurte of you and our ſelues, and they, who are tranſported with another ſpirit, might thereby purchaſſe power to inſult ouer you and vs. And wee truly, as oportunity ſhall ſerue, will diligently and carefully treate with your King, for your honor and augmentation, and will employ all neceſſary trauell, for conſeruation of the lawes and dignityes of your Church, and with all conueniency bee watchfull, and prouident therein. Dated at Senon, the third of the Nones of March.

Reader, you beehould Pope Alexander beeſett with extremityes, either to looſe the kinges good will, or grante his requeſtes, and yeeld to him who laboureth to extorte a petition againſt the Churches liberty: theſe two ſoe intangleing him, the one of the kings demaundes hee ſatisfyed, giuing the Legantine authority to the Bishop of Yorke. the other hee abſolutely denyed, beeing the confirmation of the recited cuſtomes; yea to the end this Legantine power, conferred on the Bishop of Yorke, might no way preiudice S. Thomas, hee thought good ſoe to reſtrayne the ſame in his later letters, that hee should vnderſtand this Legation of his for England, to bee confined with condition, that notwithſtanding hee should haue no authority graunted him ouer the Archbishop or Dioces of the Church of Canterbury. Pope Alexanders letters importing this reſtraint are extant, which for breuity

Lib. 1. epiſt. 5
Lib. 1. epiſt. 39. & 40.

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wee omitt, thinking it sufficiet, if wee leaue them heere, noted with their numbres, in the margent. It is alsoe apparant in the same letters of Pope Alexander, that hee soe gaue the legation for England to the Bishop of Yorke, as neuertheleſſe hee would not suffer the Bishopps to bee exempted from the obedience they owed vnto the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom in very trueright they were subiecte: which rather enkindled the Kinges greater indignation, who desired the Apostolicall Legantine authority for the Archbishop of Yorke, of purpose to depose the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Pope endeauoreth to succour S. Thomas.

For Alexander hereupon inclined more to the cause of Sainct Thomas, and was soe far of from graunting to pleasure the King against him, as hee most carefully watched to supporte his prosperity, with the liberty's of his Church, commanding also the principall Monasteries of France, to pray for him vnto allmighty God, which is witnessed by a messinger sent from S. Thomas to his Holines, in the conclusion of whose letter, are these wordes worthie of memory. *Last of all wee petitioning his Holines, that hee would commaund you to make your repaire to him, and direct his letters to you, for that purpose, hee seemed with greife and great affliction of mynd to answer; saying, God forbid; let vs rather dye, then beehould him soe departing his countrye, and leauing his Church in that sorte soe desolate.* And a litle after. *By the mediation of my lord the Pope, there is continual prayer made for you, and the Church committed, by God, to your charge, at Clareualle and Pontiniacke Monasteries of the Cistercians.*

Pope Alexãder in the meane time cherished Thomas comforted him with his letters, and reuiued his minde when it was depressed with extreme greife. Many of his letters remayne, worthie of soe noble a Bishop, among

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which receaue you theſe, beeing in contents the ſhorteſt.

Lib. 1. epiſt. 43. How hee ought to proceede with the King.

Becauſe the dayes are euill, and many thinges are to bee ſuffered, in regard of the quality of the time, wee entreate, aduiſe, counſell, and perſwad your diſcretion, that in all actions, as well of your owne, as thoſe appertaining to the Church, you beehaue your ſelfe warely, prouidently and circumſpectly, and that you doe nothing haſtely or rashly, but all thinges deliberately and grauely: whereby you may recouer the fauour and good will of the renowned King of England, as much as poſsibly you may, without derogation to the liberty of the Church, and the honor of your office, and authoritye: And that by all meanes you endeauour and labour to endure the violence of the ſame King, vntill the next Eaſter, in ſuch ſorte, as you deuiſe not, to put any thing in execution againſt him or his land, vntill that perfixed tyme: for then our lord will graunt a better and milder ſeaſon, whereby as well you, as wee, may more ſafely and ſecurely proceede in our affaires. Thus Alexander to Thomas; of whom (as wee haue ſayd) it is extant, that hee did write other letters, to the ſame effect vnto him. But in that the Pope did ſo certainly promiſe; that times would bee calmer at the next enſueing Eaſter: it is apparant hee did with a Propheticall ſpirit, foreknowe the death of the Antipope, which at that time hapned; as wee shall heereafter declare.

But Alexander, who ſoe counſelled S. Thomas to forbeare the outragious king, did not himſelfe forbeare to admonish, by his letters, the ſame king in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon, inſtantly reprouing, rebuking, and beeſeeching him, as (Reader) you may vnderſtand by this letter, written about the ſame tyme.

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ALEXANDER THE SERVANT OF THE seruantes of God, to Henry illustrous King of England, health and Apostolicall benediction.

Lib. 1. Epist. 42.

ALthough the deuotion of a dutyfull childe, as well towardes vs, as your holy mother the Church, seemeth of late to weare somewhat cold in you: neuertheleſſe, wee haue not at any time omitted our fatherly affection towards you, and the kingdome commended to your gouerment, wherefore your excellency diligently weighing, that the ſtripes of a freind, are better then the kiſſes of an enemy, may more carefully conſider and attentiuely underſtand, that as Clearkes are in life and habit diſtinguished from ſecular perſons; ſoe the iudicial proceedinges with Clearkes, are approoued to bee abſolutely different from the iudgmentes of the Layetie; and therefore if you deſorder theſe, otherwiſe then it beecommeth, and (vſurping vnder your power) thoſe thinges which beelong to Ieſus Chriſt) doe at your owne pleaſure, ordaine new lawes, for the oppreſſion of Churches, and Chriſtes poore flocke, and bring in alſo thoſe cuſtomes, which (as you tearmed them) beelonged to your Progenitors: your ſelfe, without all queſtion, will beefore the laſt terrible Tribunal (which you Proūerb. 13 *can no way auoyd) bee in like ſorte adiudged, and the ſame meaſure, whereby you haue meaſured others, bee returned vpon you. But leaſt our admonitions may ſeeme tedious and rigorous to the eares of your excellency; remember how it is written, that the father chaſtiſeth the ſonne whom hee loueth, knowcing aſſuredly, that with how much more ferrent charity wee loue you in our lord, and by how much more often and carefully wee call to mind the monuments of your moſt ſincere deuotion many ways, and moſt royally heeretofore shewed to vs and the Church of God; ſoe much the more earneſtly wishing, with the de-*

The Pope admonisheth the King by writing.

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noted affections of our harte, your spiritual, and eternal saluation, wee signifie these vnto your vnderstanding. For if the last iudgment bee any ways terrible to you, or the crowne of rewards in the eternal rest, delightfull, it is not only beeseeming, but also necessarie for your Maiestie to reuerence truth (which is God himselfe) and also Iustice, to giue euery man his right, to leaue to the managing of Ecclesiastical persons, all matters Ecclesiastical, especially criminal, which spring from the breach of faith or periury; to yeeld to men of the Church, the decisiō of causes concerning goods and possessions of Churches, and not to confound the kingdome with the preisthood: for if you would bestowe on the reliefe of the poore, or other workes of Charity, all the substance, which by such compulsions you wrest & wring from the treasures of the Church, vnto your owne vse, you should doe no more acceptable an acte, in the sight of God, then if you should, rob one Altar to garnish an other, or crucify Peeter to saue Paule from death; for you ought to recount, and for an exemple of such proceeding, to set before your eyes: how king Saul, because after the ouerthrowe of Amelech, hee would, contrary to the precept of God, reserue the prey, when as for his owne excuse, hee pretended to retaine the same for sacrifice, was as a reprobate, reiected by our Lord, and hee yet liuing, another chosen vnto his honor, and kingly dignity. Soe whom the sinnes of the people made a gouernor, his owne offences depriued of the kingdomes gouerment. And it is conuenient for your soules health to call to minde how also King Ozias, whilst hee would offer incense, and vsurpe to him selfe the office of a priest, was by the iust iudgment of God strooke with a leprosie.

Lib 1. Reg. cap. 14.

2. Par. cap. 26.

If truly you attribute your happie successes to your owne forces, and power, and not to Almighty God: and doe not withdrawe your minde, and attemptes from oppressing Ecclesiastical persones, and Churches: hee doubtles who

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placed you in gouernment ouer others, and ordeyned you a great prince in this world, for ruling, and not for the wrongfull depreßion of his faithfull people, will with a greuous vsury, demand of you againe the talentes committed to your charge, and as it is written of Roboam the sonne of Salomon, (who for his fathers offence, was cast out from his kingdome) will transferre, and poure out vpon the heires, the vengeance of the fathers sinne. Harken not therefore to euery ones wicked suggeßions, nor open your eares to thoße, who murmur euer miscbeifes into your head: but diligently attend thoße thinges which are expedient for saluation, and endeauour to rule, and commodiously to gouerne your kingdome, according as our lord hath appointed you, to the honor of God, and the peace & tranquillity of his Chrch, for which only end you haue receiued into your hand the reynes of the realme. That hee, by whom kings raigne, & whoße ßeruice is a kingdome, may preßerue to you & your heires a temporal kingdome, & after the expiration thereof, an eternal one without end. 3. Reg. 14.

Thus Alexander to King Henry: which is alßo ßet forth by Roger in his Chronicle.

But what Thomas in this paßage of time, beefore hee fledd into France, with patience endured, is to bee declared out of the afore-mentioned Authors: for thus is it related.

The kinge in the meane while vnderßtood, that my Lord of Canterbury, would flie off from that promiße, eßpecially in that hee openly gayneßayd, to ßeale the deede of thoße conditions, in ßorte as beefore was appointed. Whereupon the Prince, inraged more with fury, beegan to afflicte my lord of Canterbury with more greeuous and exquißite vexations; ßoe far forth as it was apparant to vnderßtanding men, that his bloud and life was thirßted after. Wherefore Thomas, fearing that, determined to flie the Realme, and com-

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ming to his Mannor called *Aluster*, while all the rest were a sleepe, accompanyd only with two, with drewe himselfe secretly; and getting a ship, committed himselfe to the seas; but long outwearyd with a contrary winde, returning backe, hee hardly recouered early in the morning the land againe with hazard of his life. In the end his departure beeing knowne; his familiars and seruantes were thereupon seuerally dispersed. Yet one of them boulder then the rest comming to Canterbury, retyred himselfe the next night, into the Bishoppes owne chamber, and supper being ended, began carefully, with sorrowe to lament the misfortunes and afflictions of his lord; and hauing thus spent the beeginning of the night desirous to take his rest, Goe (quoth hee to his Boy) and shutt the vttermost dore of the hall, to the end wee may sleepe more securely; this seruant therefore comming thither with a candle lighted, the dore beeing open, sawe my lord of Canterbury sitt alone in a corner, terrifyd with which spectacle, hee ran away, imagining hee beheld a vision, and telling his Master thereof, this Clearke, whom hee serued, would in no case believe it, vntill himselfe made tryal of the truth, and comming found all in sorte a foresayde. My lord of Canterbury calling together some of his brethren of Canterbury Church, declared to them what had beefallen him, and how as yet it was not Godes pleasure he should departe, and beeing refreshed with a light supper, rested. The next morning came the kinges officers to confiscate the whole estate of the Archbishop as a fugitiue; but hearing and seeing hee was present, confounded they helde theire peace.

S Thomas attempting to passe away by seas is by contrary windes driuen backe againe.

The kinge therfore, with a more heauy hand, increased the afflictions of my lord of Canterbury; causing him to bee peremptorily cyted, for answering his

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Maiestie at a certayne day, concerning matters, to bee obiected against him. The tyme being come, they who were summoned, assembled, and a Parliament beeing helde at North-Hamptonne, my lord is called to answer his cause. The Archbishop together with the rest of the Bishops, beeing sate and sequestred in a roome a parte, the dores, by the Kings commandemēt, beeing shutt, so as there could be no passage forth; it was on his Majesties beehalfe alleaged against him, that in the tyme of his Chancellorship, hauing many vacancyes of Bishopprickes, and Abbeys, with great rentes, for very many yeeres, in his handes, hee neuer gaue vp his accompt for the same, which now the kinge required of him. Heereunto sayd the Archbishop: wee will consult with our counsell, and answer by aduice.

The Parliament at North-Hampton.

While, therefore, they remayned all in deepe silence, Gilbert Bishop of London, Deane of the Church of Canterbury, and in that respecte, cheefest of his Councell in authority, next vnder the Archbishop, my lord of Canterbury requiring him to speake, sayd: if (father) you consider, frō whence the king hath exalted you, what hee hath bestowed on you, and weygh alsoe the malice of these tymes, how miserable a reigne you haue prepared for the Catholike Church, and vs, by withstandinge the kinge heerein; you ought not only to yeelde him the Archbishoppricke of Canterbury, but also the same, were it tenne tymes better. And if perchance hee could but seein you that humility, hee would restore you whatsoeuer you haue lost. Wee sufficiently perceaue (quoth my lord of Canterbury) what you haue aduisedly answered.

The opinions of the Bishoppes.

Then Henry Bishop of Wincheſter sayd. This manner of Counsell, beeing absolutely pernicious to the Catholicke Church, byndeth and confoundeth vs

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all: becauſe if our Archbishop and Primate of England should leaue vs ſuch an example, as that euery Bishop should yeelde and forſake at the becke and threatning of his Prince, his authority ād care ouer the ſoules committed to his charge, what will bee then afterwardes the ſtate of the Churches, but only this, that nothing will bee ordered according to law, but all will be confounded as the king liſteth, and ſuch as the Preiſt, ſuch will bee the people.

Next Hilary Bishop of Chicheſter, a man glorious in wordes, adding his opinion, ſayd: if this inſtant time, and the troubles of the Catholike Church, did not require at our handes an other courſe, wee ought doubtleſſe, to aſſent to your ſentence: But when the authority of the Cannons ſtaggereth, wee ought very much to withdrawe the rigor of ſeuerity, that ſweete diſpenſatiō may profit there, where sharpe correctiō may otherwiſe deſtroy; wherefore I thinke wee ought to yeeld to the kinges pleaſure, yet only but for a tyme; leaſt otherwiſe wee run on rashly to decree that, whereupon may followe a more greeuous retractation not without confuſion.

Afterwardes the Biſhop of Lincolne, a man truly ſimple, and of leſſe diſcretion, ſayd: it is apparant they ſeeke the life and blood of this man, and of neceſſity one of theſe muſt followe, that hee muſt ſuffer eyther in his Archbishoppricke, or in his life; now what fruite hee can reape of his Archbishoppricke, if hee loſeth his life therefore, I ſee not.

But Bartholomewe Bishop of Exceſter ſpoake thus: it is playne that theſe dayes are euill; wherefore if wee may vnder the shadowe of diſſimulation, auoyd the force of this tempeſt without hurte or loſſe, it were eſpecially to bee procured: neither can wee eaſily attayne thereunto, vnleſſe there bee a great relaxation of ſeuerity; the inſtance of this tyme requireth it,

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cheefely since this persecution is not generall, but particular. It is better therefore, one head should in parte bee subiect to danger, then the whole Church of England exposed to an ineuitable perill.

Roger the Bishop of Worcester, beeing also asked his opinion, soe tempered his answer, as in his very negatiue, hee made apparant what his minde was. In this (quoth hee) I will giue no aduice, because, if I shall say, that wee ought to leaue the care of soules receaued by vs from God, at the threatening and pleasure of a king, my mouth should declare againste my conscience, to the condemnation of my soule: if on the other side I censure, that the king in this case ought to bee resisted, Loe heere his followers will heare mee by whose relation, his Maiestie will bee thereof certifyed, and I shall presently bee cast out of the Sinagoge, and hereafter ranked with his publicke and condemned enemyes: wherefore I neither say this, nor counsell that.

The first acte of this tragedie.

These thinges thus handled: they sate awhile in silence, neither was there a man who spoake a word more; and deuising a way to haue a free passage out of the roome (for they were locked in) I would (quoth my lord of Canterbury) speake with two Earles, who are with the kinge, aad named them both: And they beeing called, opening the dore, entred hastely in, and beeing greedy to heare somewhat, that might satisfy the kinges desire, my lord of Canterbury vsed these wordes in their presence. Wee haue consulted about those matters, for which my lord the king assembled vs heere, and in regarde wee haue not with vs now, those persons, who more cleerely vnderstand this cause, wee therefore craue respite vntill to morrowe, determining to answer then as our lord shall inspire vs. The Bishoppes of London and Rochester were sent to

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deliuer this meſſage to the king; but London, like a crafty fox, corrupted the buſines, commended to his charge; telling the kinge; that my lord of Canterbury beeſought only at his Maieſties handes a truce of time, for making ready the wrytinges, as one prepared at the determined day to yeelde accompt in anſwer of his accuſations, and this hee ſayde to the end my lord of Canterbury, might bee thereby the more ingaged to fullfill the kinges requeſt. The Earles therefore were directed to the Archbishop, for graunting him, on the kinges behalfe, this reſpite of time, if hee would ratifying confirme, what the Bishops on his parte had certifyd his Maieſtie. Whereunto Canterbury replyed: hee gaue the Bishoppes no ſuch commiſſion, neyther would alow what they had ſignifyed to the kinge, but would the next day (God willing) appeare, and as it was inſpired vnto him from aboue, ſoe anſwere. Gilbert of London was therefore with shame confounded, ſeeing himſelfe fallen into the ſnare, which hee layed to intãgle his father. The coũſell beeing thus diſſolued for the preſent they ſeuerally departed, the troopes of knightes and others, who attended the Archbishop to the place, terrifyed for dread of the kinge, left him, which Sainct Thomas ſeeing, commanded ſome to ſeeke about the hedges & villages, and inuite the poore lame & impotent to come vnto him, ſaying hee might with ſuch an army more eaſily obtayne the victory, then by thoſe, who in tyme of temptation fledd shamefully away; with theſe poore gueſtes was his houſe and feaſte furnished, and the day ſpent with contented delight in our lord, without any open mention afterwardes made, of the forepaſſed trouble. The next day early in the morning was my lord taken with the *Hiake* paſſion, a diſeaſe that followed him, and as then helde him in ſuch ſorte, as hee could not lifte himſelfe,

S. Thomas left by his knightes entertaineth the poore.

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out of his bedd: whereupon making the longer delay (which the malicious suppoſed to proceed of an vnwillingnes, to appeare in the kinges Courte) ſome were sēt to cōmand him more sharpely and perēptorily to goe on with his anſwere. Who replying ſayd: if this ſickneſs will ſuffer mee, I will (godwilling) to morrow appeare. That day paſſed away, and the office of the inſuing night beeing finished with great deuotion, aryſing early to ſolemnize Maſſe, and hauing (according to the cuſtome) veſted him, calling to God for his aſſiſtance, through the merittes of the bleſſed S. Stephen, hee commanded the entrance of the Maſſe to beegin with: *Etenim ſederunt Principes, & aduerſum me loquebantur:* and Princes haue ſate alſo, and againſt mee haue they ſpoken. And ſoe with extraordinary deuotion ended the whole office, with all thereunto appertaining; the kinges ſeruantes, who were preſent, in ſilence aduiſedly marked all, who ſuſpected that this ſignifyed ſomewhat. Maſſe beeing donne, hee layd aſyde his Pall, and Miter, hauing on his other ſacred ornaments, and ouer all a Cope. It is ſayd in Quadrilogus, that S. Thomas celebrated as then the Maſſe of S. Stephen, the firſt Martyr, by the aduice of a certaine holy and religious Monke, and not in regard it was any feaſt of Sainct Stephen: and that, otherwiſe then his wonted order was, hee performed the ſame in his Pall: and caryed alſo with him ſecretly the Bleſſed Sacrament, after the ancient cuſtomes, but openly bore only his Croſſe, the Sainte thus preparing himſelfe to Martyrdome, becauſe that day hee ſuppoſed hee ſhould dye. But the a fore recyted hiſtory proceedeth thus.

The preparation of S. Thomas.

Entring the kinges chamber, where his Maieſtie expected him, taking at the very dore the Croſſe, hee boare it in his owne hande, the Biſhoppes following, and interpreting this his Acte, otherwiſe then beeſeemed

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them. Yet Robert Bishop of Hereford, offering himſelfe, ſayd: Father ſtay: and in place of your Chaplaine I will cary the Croſſe before your preſence, for ſoe is it conuenient. With more iuſtice (anſwered Canterbury) the cariage heereof beelongeth to mee, vnder whoſe protection I remayne more ſecurely: and that Banner appearing, there is no doubt vnder what Prince I fight. London replyed: if the king ſeeth you entring in armes, hee will drawe his ſwoard, beeing of greater force, then yours, and ſtrike at your heade, and then you ſhall trye, what theſe your armes will auayle you. All this (quoth Canterbury) wee cõmend to God. Yea (anſwered Londõ) you haue bin hetherto a foole, and this folly (I ſee) you will neuer leaue. Soe went they forward. But the king hearing the Bishop, came in thus armed forgetting, or leauing of his ſwoard (mentioned by Lõdon) withdrewe himſelfe ſpeedily into his priuy chãber, Canterbury taking his place on the one ſyde, a parte, with ſome very few his followers: the Bishoppes ſate on the cõtrary ſyde, in place; and myndevnited againſt him. At the laſte are the Bishops called into the kinges counſell, Canterbury beeing left to the ſlaughter. The tyme is protracted, while they ſifte out the matter, for condemning the innocent. Canterbury with a confidẽt looke put on Conſtancy. Roger Archbishop of Yorke comming forth, ſayd to his Clearkes preſent (beeing Maſter Robert ſurnamed Croſſe, and Osbern a Rondell) let vs departe hence, wee ought not to beehould, what will here bee inſtantly executed on Canterbury. Maſter Robert replyed: I will not forſake the place, vntill I ſee what God hath determined herein; if hee will fight for God, and his iuſtice, to the very death, hee cannot more nobly and more worthily finish his dayes. The Archbishop of Yorke departing thus, Barthelmewe Bishop of Exceſter, comming out

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from the kinges Chāber, and falling at my lord of Canterburys feete, sayd: my deere father take pitty on your selfe, and haue mercy on vs, this day wee perish all, in respecte of hatred conceiued against you; for the kinge hath published an Edict, that whosoeuer shall heereafter hould with Canterbury, shall bee adiudged an open enemy and comdemned to dye. It was also reported that Ioselin Bishop of Salisbury, and William Bishop of Norwiche, because they yet resisted the kinges will, should bee presently drawne to execution, and haue theyr limmes maymed: wherefore they likewise cryed out to Canterbury for their preseruation.

The Archbishop therefore fixing his eyes on Excester, said: flie hence, because you relish not, what appertayneth to God: then issued out from the counsell all the Bishops together, in a troubled disorder to Canterbury, where one among the rest, I meane the Bishop of Chichester, breaking forth in these ruffling wordes, sayd: Sometimes you were our Archbishop, and wee bounde to obey you: but because you haue sworne to our lord the king your fidelity, which is with your power to conserue his life, limmes, and earthly dignity, keeping withall the customes required by him: and neuertheless doe now, endeuour to destroy them which tend to his worldly royalty and honor wee therefore pronounce you guilty of periury, and as a periured Archbishop, wee are no longer oblyged to obey you: in reguard whereof committing and submitting vs and ours to our lord the Popes protection, wee appeale frō you vnto his presence, there to answer these obiections. Wee heare you (quoth my lord of Canterbury) the Bishoppes withdrawing themselues, sate apart on the contrary side, remayning long in greate silence. In the end came out from the king,

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Earles and Barons, with a mighty route, approaching to my Lord of Canterbury, among whom, the cheifeſt, Robert of Leiceſter ſayd: The king commandeth you to appeare, and yeeld accompt, concerning matters obiected againſt you, as yeſterday you vndertooke to doe, otherwiſe heare your iudgmēt. Iudgmēt (quoth my Lord of Canterbury) nay, ſonne and Earle, heare you firſt. You are not ignorant (my ſonne) how ſeruiſeable and how faithfull, according to the ſtate of this world, I haue bin to my Lord the king; in reſpect whereof, it pleaſed him to prefer mee, to the Arch-Bishopprick of the Church of Canterbury (God knoweth) againſt my will, for myne owne weaknes, was not vnknowne to my ſelfe, and rather for his pleaſure, then the loue of God, I conſented thereunto, which is this day apparant enough, ſince God withdraweth, as well himſelfe, as the king, from mee. But in the the tyme of my promotion, while the Election was made; Prince Henry his ſonne (on whom this charge was impoſed) beeing there preſent, it was demanded, in what manner they would giue mee to the Church of Canterbury? Whereunto was anſwered: Free and diſcharged from all bandes of the Courte. I ſtherefore free and diſcharged: concerning theſe, from which I am diſcharged, neyther am I bounde, nor yet will I hereafter anſwer. This caſe is otherwiſe (ſayd the Earle) then the Bishop of London informed the king. Cāterbury added: Withall marke this (ſonne Earle) how much the ſoule excelleth the body, ſoe much are you bound to obey God, and mee, beefore an earthly king; neyther yet law nor reaſō allowes, that children ſhould iudge or condemne theyre father: where vpon I diſclay me from the iudgmēt of the king, of you, and others, beeing only to bee iudged, next vnder God, by our lord the Pope, vnto whole pre-

S. Thomas pleadeth his cauſe.

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fence, heere before yee all I appeale, committing the Church of Canterbury, myne order, and dignity, with all thereunto appertayning to God, and his protection. In like sorte, doe I cyte yee (my brethren and fellowe Bishoppes) beeeause yee obey rather man, then God; to the Audience and iudgment of my lord the Pope; and soe defended with the authority, of the Catholike Church, and the Apostolicall Sea, I departe hence.

As hee went away, the courtyers and malitious followed him, crying out against him with reproches and iniuryes, and deprauing called him traytor. Comming to the vttermost gate, hee founde it shutt, nor could hee passe, no Porter beeing there to bee seene; and while the matter was handled in feare and hazard: as God would haue it, a bunch of keyes hung by the wall, which one of my Lord of Canterbury's followers, catching, tryed one after an other, vntil in the end hee opened the gate. Thus going forth, a great number who were sicke of the Kinges euill, together with the poore, and impotent, mett him, reioycing and saying: Blessed bee our lord who hath deliuered, and rescued his seruant, from the face and fury of his enemyes. For it was credibly supposed, hee had bin now deade. A great company, therefore, of needy and diseased persons, goeing before and after him, together with the Clergy and Layety, hee was with ioy and gladnes brought to his Inne. And hee seeing the tryumph of the people, sayd to his followers: Lo, what a glorious procession conducteth vs, from the face of our persecutors! Suffer the poore of Christ, and partakers of our tribulation, to enter with vs, that wee may feast all together, in our Lord; and soe the whole house and courte were filled with these his guestes. It is moreouer written in quadrilogus; that then by chance was

S. Thomas tryumpheth and feasteth the poore.

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read at the table, out of the Tripartite hiſtory, the perſecution of Liberius, when hee reſiſted Conſtantine an Heretical Emperour, by whom hee was caſt into baniſhment. And out of the Goſpel accuſtomed to bee read, was alſo rehearſed, that of the Euangeliſt: If they ſhall perſecute yee in one Citty, flye into an other. Which beeing heard by ſainct Thomas, and taking it as ſpoken to himſelfe, hee put it preſently in execution, paſſing the ſeas, by Gods aſſiſtance, into Flanders, where hee remayned awhile, at the Monaſtery of ſainct Bertine; what beefell him in his iourney, with many thinges thereunto beelonging, are ſet forth at large in that hiſtory: For ſainct Thomas, who appealed to the Popes Holines, ought, with all conuenience, to haſten to his Courte for purgation of himſelfe. But his aduerſaryes proclaymed his iourney to bee his flight, and what ſlanders did they forbeare, to vomite againſt him as a fugitiue?

Matth. 5.

Of this ſubiect treateth Iohn of Salisbury, in the afore recyted Epiſtle, to Peeter the wryter; where hee hath compoſed a moſt eloquent Apologie, in defence of the flight of ſainct Thomas, which I omitt for brevity: And allthough hee hath, for his excuſe, very many exemples of Chriſt, his Apoſtles, Prophets and Saintes; yet one thing alone ſufficeth, that hee was, by the Popes letters, commanded to proſecute the appeale put in, and alſo to bee with his Holines in France, beefore his departure thence; which was not to leaue, but to labour to place in ſafety his Church, ſo dangerously hazarded. Heereupon ſayth the ſame Iohn. This was not (aſſuredly) to expoſe his Church to perill, but to endeauour for her deliuery. Vnleſſe perchance you will imagin hee leaueth the shipp, who entreth the Cock-boate to drawe her into the hauen. This and much more in the beehalfe of ſaint Thomas, wryteth

Codi. Vatican. ep. 3. poſt lib. 3.

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wryteth his defendant Iohn of Salisbury. But heare what the king of England did, vpon the reporte of his departure. Henry thus deluded, hearing by some, that saint Thomas was escaped by flight, published his Edictes in this sorte against him, and the Clearkes his followers. Henry king of England to the seuerall Bishoppes ordayned in England. Yee are not Ignorant in what euill sorte Thomas, Archbisoppe of Canterbury, hath proceeded against mee, and my kindome, and in what bad manner, hee is departed: And therefore I cōmand yee, none of his Clearkes, who after that his flight accompanyd him, nor any other Clearkes, who derogated from the honor of mee, and the honor of my kingdome, receaue any renttes beelonging to them, in your Bishoppickes, otherwise then by my permission; nor haue any assistance, or aduice from yee. Hee set out also an other proclamation, for sequestring the reuenewes of the Archbishoppricke of Canterbury into the kinges handes. Likewise hee published other decrees, signifyed to S. Thomas, from his friend by wryting in these wordes.

Cod Vatic. lib 1 epistola 23.

Please it you to vnderstand, that this is the tenor of the commissions sent by King Henry, into England: to wit: That euery hauen, bee most carefully guarded, least any letters of interdiction bee any way brought into the land: and if any Reguler person bringeth them in let his feete bee cut of: if hee bee a Clearke, let him lose his eyes and priuy members: if a laye man, let him bee hanged: If a Leper, *let him be burned: and if any Bishop, for dread of this interdictiō, will trauell out of the realme, let him cary nothing with him beesides his staffe. It is also his will, that all schollers, bee compelled to returne into their countrey, or else to bee depriued of their Benefices; and they that stay, shall remayne without euer hope of returne: likewise for those Priests who refuse to sing, let*

Ibid epist. 13 ibid. ep 14. Lawes enacted after the flight of S. Thomas.

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them lose their priuy partes. And let all who rebell, bee depriued of their Benefices. Thomas in the meane while hauing suffered this banishment, sent these letters to Pope Alexander, which Roger in his Chronickes of England, recyteth the yeere following, yet truly appertayning to this present, written with these wordes.

S Thomas concerning his appeal to the Pope.

I flye for refuge (most holy father) vnto your audience, that you who with soe greate a hazard of your selfe, haue rescued the Churches liberty; may now consider the only, or cheifest cause, of the persecution of my selfe, who haue followed your example. For I greeued to see the state of the Church by litle and litle to perish, and her lawes infringed, by the Auarice of Princes; and thought this danger of sicknes was to bee preuented: and by how much I knewe my selfe more bound to that lord of myne, vnto whom, next vnder God, I am most ingaged, soe much the more securely, I supposed his vniust attemptes were to bee resisted; vntill they preuayled, who clowded from mee the cleere beames of his fauor. Afterwardes (as it is accustomed with Princes) they raysed against mee slanders, and false accusations, whereby they might prosecute mee; and I rather chose banishment, then to yeelde to iniustice: and to multiplye these mischeifes, I was as a laye man, called beefore the King, to make satisfaction; and where I hoped, in my resistance, for most assistance, there was I especially deceaued: for I found my lordes, and fellowe brethren the Bishoppes prepared, at the pleasure of the Courtiers, to punish mee. Thus allmost strangled with the inuasions of soe many, I haue fled for succour, to the audience of your Holines, who neglecteth not those, who are plunged in extremityes, and vnder whom I stand ready to make good, that I am nether to bee iudged there, nor by them: for what is this else (father) then to diminish, and withdrawe from you, the authority of your lawes? yea what else, then to submit Spirituall Power,

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to temporal iurisdiction? this once suffered, would open an example to many, and therefore I iudged, it was with more constancy to bee withstood; because the headlong way to doe hurte, is to see but a weake resistance. But they will say: Those thinges are to bee giuen to Caesar which are Caesars: yet although in many matters the king is to bee obeyed, hee is neuertheless not to bee obeyed in those, by which hee ceaseth to bee a king: for such appertayne not to Caesar, but to a Tyrant: wherein the Bishoppes, if not for my sake, yet for their owne, should haue resisted him. For if the last iudgment is reserued for him, who hath power to iudge both body, and soule: shall the highest Tribunal among men, bee attributed to him, who iudgeth according to his owne sense? if these Bishoppes maintaine the parte of iustice, why did they assault mee? why doe they reproue mee, for appealing vnto him, to auoyde whose determination of controuersyes, is either vnlawfull or not expedient? wherefore they haue vniustly accused mee, or distrusted of your iustice: for otherwise, it were a double confusion to mee, to bee conuicted before your Holines. And haue I deserued persecution at their handes, for whose cause, I defended the bullwarke, against soe greate a battery, and had won the victory, if only they would haue assisted? but in ill case is the head, beeing left destitute by the members: for how wonldit bee, if the eyes, should vse the tongue against the head? if they had well foreseene it, they deuised but mischeefe, to their owne confusion; and our principall aduersaryes abused their assistance, to bring them into slauery.

Christ famoreth Caesar, not a tiran tirant.

Because they haue accomplished all this, vpon soe greate a malice, that to vndoe mee, they would withall ouerthrowe themselues: they haue herein neglected Spirituall treasures for temporall trifles: and fayled in the end of both. Againe what an offence was it, that when I cryed out against this iniustice, and appealed to your au-

How many wayes the Bishoppes of England offended against S. Thomas.

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dience, they durst, in iudgment condemne mee their father? what if they conspire, with the Prince our aduersary, against the whole Catholicke Church? and truly (most holy father) you might haue bin suspitious thereof. Yet wille they say they were bounde to their king, as their temporal lord: but, to him in their bodyes, to mee in their soules; and to whom could they bee more obliged, then to themselues? Is it not better to lose corporall, then spirituall riches? But they will againe reply: the king was not, in this perilous tyme, to bee prouoked. O how subtilly doe they argue for their owne slauery? yea they prouoke him, who, by their excesses, giue winges to his will and pleasure. For they might haue bin quiet, had they not to quietly assented. And when is constancy more required, then in the midst of our persecutors? Are not Christes frindes tryed with persecutions? If continually they yeelde, when shall they ouercome? Of necessity sometimes they must resist. Condescend therefore (most holy father) to succour mee in my flight and persecution, and remember that once I was in your age an eminent man, but now, for your sake wearyed out with iniuryes. Put your power in execution: restrayne them, at whose instance the cause of this persecution, came slilie creeping in. Neither let the fault of any of these, bee layde on my lord the King, who is rather a practiser, then inuentor of this wicked deuice. Hetherto Roger: but Pope Alexander heareing heereof, declared first that S. Thomas was no waye bounde by his condemnation in this Conuenticle; writing thus.

Cod Vatican lib. 1. epist. 49.

Pope Alexander to Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury.

That the inferior cannot iudge his superior, and him especially, to whom in the right of Prelacy, hee is knowne to bee subordinate; and helde bound in the chaynes of obedience, as welle diuine as humane lawes doe showe: and this especially in the decrees of the holy fathers, is more

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manifestly declared. Wherefore with carefull consideration weyghing this, wee to whom it beelongeth to reforme errours, and amend that, which for want of correction may leaue a pernicious example to posterity: and moreouer beecause the Church ought not, by reason of the offence of any particular person, to sustayne any losse or discommoditie, doe adiudge the sentence to bee absolutely voyde, and declare by the Apostolical authority, the same to bee of no force, which by the Bishops and Barons of England (in reguard you appeared not vpon the Kinges first summons) was presumptiously pronounced against you, whereby the sayd Bishops and Barons depriued you of all your moueable goods, as well against the forme of law, as contrary to the Ecclesiasticall custome: and that especially, since you had noe moueables, but only of the Churches goods. Also wee determine the sayd sentence, to bee hereafter of no power, nor any ability to preiudice, or indammage you, your successors, or the Church committed to your gouermēt.

Thus wrote Pope Alexander, whoe likewise by other letters commanded restitution to bee made of all thinges taken away from the Archbisgop or any others, vpon any occasion concerning him. *Ibid. epist 32.*

But that the state of the Church of England, may appeare more playnly, I would haue you vnderstand, how these letters, which by the kinges Embassadors where returned backe to his Holines agayne, were first imparted to the Archbishop of Yorke, vnto whom, at the kinges request was decreed the Legantine authority, for England; but in reguard Pope Alexander had in his later letters (as wee see) confined him, that hee should not by reason of his iurisdiction, challenge any power to himselfe either ouer the person of Saint Thomas, or the Archbishoppricke of Canterbury: the king as frustrate of his intention, (who was only bent by prerogatiue of this Legate, to depose S. Tho-

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mas) commanded the letters of legation, now vnprofitable for his purpose, to beeremaunded backe to the Pope, by his Embassadors designed thereunto. Concerning this, there are other letters extant declaring soe much in these wordes.

To his most beeloued lord, his assured sendeth greeting, and euer wisheth him well to fare.

Lib. 1. epist 6. *THrough the mercy of Almighty God (who neuer forsaketh those, who repose theire trust in him) it soe fell out, as the same day wherein my lord the Pope was certifyd of Octauians death, the Imbassadors of the kinges L, and H, to witt Lewes and Henry, came to the Court: the English truly pretending on their kinges beehalfe a shewe of exceeding humility, both in open wordes and letters consonant to their speech, seemed soe far to moue my lord the Pope, and some of his Cardinalls that (as by reporte of those who fauoured you I vnderstood) they hardly could abstayne from teares wherefore after many allegations, in what sorte, and with what affection the kinges Maiestie receaued Pope Alexander, and how great reuerence hee euer shewed to him, the which hee would continew during his life, these flourishes finished, they returned vnto his Holines many letters, concerning the legantine power, which your Archdeacon obtayned dishoneſtly for England, during the tyme I remayned with you: but the condition, whereuppon hee procured the same letters, my lord the King by the mouth of his Embassadors absolutely renounced, as neuer made or desired by him. The Popes Holines soe willingly and gladly receaued the same letters back againe, as if a thing most wished were now offered him in such manner as some there present maruelled very much.*

You perceaue (reader) in all thinges hitherto hādled

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before Bope Alexander in the case of S. Thomas, how hee fauored euer his side: and was from the first in the passage of this busines, inclined to assist him: in regard wherof, let Iohn of Salisbury reprou himselfe, who in the beeginninge of these tumultes wryting to S. Thomas, beecõmeth soe bad a prophet of Pope Alexãders proceedinges, saying: *many thinges make against you, fewe for you, formightie persons will come who are bountifull in the largesse of money, which Rome neuer despised: and will bee supported, not only with their owne, but also my Lord the kinges authority, whom the courte ought in no case to displease, &c.* You may see therefore how vntruly, and rashly hee censured of Pope Alexanders, constancy supposing hee might bee conquered with gould who was stronger then steele. *Lib. 1. epist. 24.*

Another imbassage also ensued, addressed from the keng to Pope Alexãder, by the Archbishops ãd Bishops of Englãd, who were all admitted to publicke audiẽce; wherein the Cõsistory, first of thẽ all the Bishop of Lõdon, houlding the first place, did first beegin thus to speake. *Vnto you (Father) appertayneth the care, and watchfull eye ouer the Catholicke Church; that both the discreete, may by your wisedom, bee fostred vp to the exãple of manners; ãd the vnaduised, by the Apostolical authority, suppressed and chasticed, to reduce them to wisedom. But in the depth of your discretion, the man cannot bee conceaued to bee wise, who presuming in the strength of his owne witt, endeauoreth to disturbe the band of vnion among his brethen, the tranquillity of the Church, and the deuotion of the king. A dissention hath lately sprung in England, beetweene the kingdome and the Preisthood, vpon an occasion but light, and of litle importance, which might haue bin easily extinguished, had a moderate medicine bin thereunto applyed: but my lord of Canterbury, being herein singular in his owne conceyte, and not gui-* *The imbassage of the Bishoppes of England against Saint Thomas.*

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ded by our counſel inſiſted ſeuerely, beeyond reaſon neuer conſidering this ill affected time, or what manner of miſcheiſe may enſue, vpon ſuch a headlong entrepriſe, and ſoe weaued intangling ſnares, for the deſtruction of himſelfe, and his breithren: and had but our aſſent fauored his deſignes, the matter it ſelfe had now fallen out more foulely, But in reſpect hee could not (as hee ought not) compell vs, to condeſcend to his intended purpoſe; hee attempted to retorte the blame of his rash preſumption, on my lord the king, on vs, yea on the whole nation: wherefore to giue a coulor to the infaming of our mutuall brotherhood, no man enforcing him, no man threatening him, hee fled the land, according to that ſaying: the wicked hath fled and no man perſecuted him. Heere my Lord the Pope interruping him, ſayd. Forbeare (Brother:) and London anſwered: I will (my Lord) forbeare him. Whereunto his Holynes replyed. I bid you not forbeare him, but forbeare to wrong your ſelfe. At the ſound of this Apoſtolicall trumpet, Londons ſenſes were ſoe amayſed by Allmighty God, as hee could not after pronounce one word.

Prou.h. 27.

wherefore Hilarie Bishop of Chicheſter, floweing in eloquence, more confident of his Rhetoricke then of the truth and honeſty of his cauſe (as appeared by the ſequel) purſued the matter, ſaying: *My lord and father, it beehoueth your Holines, ſpeedily to reduce to the orderly ſtate of peace and concord, what ſoeuer is diſorderly landled to the deſtruction of the vniuerſall body: leaſt ſuch immoderate preſumption may produce with the ouerthrowe of many, the ſcyſme alſo of the whole Catholike Church, which my lord of Canterbury full little conſidereth, while leauing all grauer aduice, hee buildeth only on his owne braine, that thereby hee may rayſe more turbulent ſtormes and anxietyes to himſelfe and his, the king and kingdome, the people and Cleargie: and truly in a*

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man of his eminent authority, this was not seemely, neither was it opportune; neither can it hereafter at any time bee euer opportune. Soe gaiely, Hylary of Chicheſter played the Grammarian with his *opportune*, adding moreouer: neither yet was it opportune to his Cleagie (were they well aduiſed) to yeeld in ſuch a caſe aſſent vnto him. Heareing therefore this gallant Grammarian ſoe leape from porte to porte, by often iterating *opportune*, they could no longer abſtayne from laughter, among whom one breaking out, ſayd: Now Sir at length you are ill arriued in the porte. At which word our Lord ſoe abashed the Prelate, as preſently hee beecame ſilent and dumbe. The Archbishope of Yorke ſeeing them both ſoe foyled before him, endeauored to abate the fury of his minde, and in few wordes only taxed the improuidence of the Archbishop; and they in like ſorte, who diſcourſed afterwardes, whom for breuity I heere ouerpaſſe; yet ioyning all finally in this, they beeſought that his Holines would make a Legate a latere: and ſend him into England to vnderſtand the buſines beetweene the king and the Archbishop, whom they would needes haue returned backe into the ſame land, there to receaue his iudgment: which allthough they inſtātly intreated, yea and partly threatened that otherwiſe the king would breake out into ſcyſme; the Pope neuertheleſſe would not yeelde to deliuer vp into their handes innocent Thomas, but that they should expect his Sommons into that Courte, there to haue his cauſe before his Holines determined; wherevnto they refuſed to agree, and with diſdayne departed, without receauing his Apoſtolicall benediction. There is among other epiſtles to bee ſeene the Libell farced with poyſon, which theſe Prelates offered vp to Pope Alexander againſt S. Thomas.

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S. Thomas came afterwardes vnto his Holines, who (as ſaith Alane in Quadrilogus) was entertayned coldly by the Cardinalles, but admitted freely to my Lord the Popes preſence, who receaued him with a moſt kind, and fatherly affection, caſting a tender compaſſion on his manifould afflictions, and his long pilgrimage, ſoe dangerous, troubleſome, and tedious; and while theſe matters were thus to & fro diſcourſed, hee was at the length cõmanded to lay, the next day, open, beefore his brethren, the cauſes of his banishment. wherefore on the morrowe, while it was queſtioned amõg his aſſociates, which of them should firſt vnfould the cauſe, euery one pretending excuſes, the bulke of this buſines fell on the Archbishop himſelfe. Inſtructed therefore by God, allthough of himſelfe abſolutely vnprouided, while placed next vnder my lord the Pope, hee would for reuerence haue ryſen; beeing commanded to ſit dow againe, and ſoe to pleade his cauſe, hee thus beegan: *Although not abounding in wiſedome, yet are wee not ſoe vndiſcreete, as for a trifle, to leaue the king of England, his Courte, and commodityes. for if wee would, in all reſpectes, ſubmet our ſelues vnto his pleaſure, there is not hee within his dominions or kingdome, who would refuſe to bee obedient to our will; and during the tyme that vnder this condition wee ſerued his turnes, what was there that anſwered not our wished deſires? But after wee entred another courſe of proceedinge, thorough the dewe remembrance of the profeſſion and obedience, which for the ſeruice of God wee haue vndertaken, his former affection hee bare vs, beegan aſſuredly to wax cold. And yet truly, if wee would flye backe from our intended purpoſe; wee neede not the interceſsion of any for recouery of his fauour: but becauſe the Church of Canterbury, hath bin accuſtomed in tymes paſt to bee the Sun of the weſt, and her brightes*

S. Thomas pleadeth his cauſe in the Conſiſtory.

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in this our age, is very much clowded; wee had rather in thee name of God, suffer any torments, yea thousand seuerall deathes, if soe many were offerred vs, then euer with dissimulation to indure the afflictions, which at this instant shee sustayneth. And that wee may not seeme with curiosity, or a pretence of vayne glory, to haue beegun this our entrepriſe, it is conuenient that with an eye-witnessing testimony, the effecte bee made apparant.

And producing the writinges contayneing the customes, the cause of this contention, with teares hee sayd: Loe heere, what lawes the King of England ordayned, against the liberty of the Catholike Church! Bee iudges your selues, if it bee lawfull to dissemble in matters of this moment, without the losse of a mans soule. Which once heard, they were all moued to the very effusion of teares; neither yet could they contayne themselues, who before were to their power vehement on the contrary parte; all with one voyce prayſing our Lord, for reseruing yet one person to himselfe, who durst in this tempest of persecution, stand in defence of his holy Church: and they who seemed before to bee, in this controuersie deuided, now consented in this one opinion, that in the person of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the vniuersall Church was at this tyme to bee succoured. But my lord the Pope hauing read and often perused, and with greate diligence and attention heard and considered seuerally these customes; beeing exceedingly moued, instantly burst out into anger against the Archbishop reprouing him with sharpe reprehension; for that yeelding an assent to these, vnworthie the name of customes, but truly tyrannical vsurpations, hee (as hee there confessed) together with the other Bishops, had renounced their preistly dignity: and cast the Church into bondage, pronouncing: they rather ought to haue vndergone all

The vvroyal customes of the kingdome of England examined in the Consistorie.

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dangers, then euer to giue the leaſt way to ſuch an vtter ouerthrowe of God Almightyes lawe, and moreouer ſayd: aſſuredly in this rabell ſo abhominable which hath bin heere both read, and heard) there is nothing at all to bee allowed as good, ſomethinges only may bee indured for the Church in a ſorte to tollerate: but the greater parte, as reprobate, by the ancient and authenticall connſells haue bin euer condemned, being directly contrary to the holy conſtitutions. And thus did the Lord and Pope in the open preſence of them all reproue, and ſentence theſe to bee heereafter euer by the Church condemned. Theſe they are, and thus ſett forth (as wee find them recorded in the aforeſayd booke of the Vatican) together with the addition of condemnation or tolleration, according to the cenſure of Pope Alexander. But I feare leaſt the intermingling of wordes and termes only proper to the English, ſhould by reaſon of their obſcurity, ſeeme to the reader darke, and difficult to vnderſtand: which are thus recyted.

The cuſtomes of England propounded at Claringtonne.

1. Concerning the aduowſon and preſentation of Churches: if any controuerſie thereupon ariſeth, betweene laymen, or betweene Clearkes and lay-men, or betweene Clearkes and Clearkes, let the cauſe bee pleaded and determined in the Courte of our lord the kinge.

This did the Church of Rome vnder Pope Alexand. the III. condemne. With. this note, are they deliuered in the end of euery artickle beeing taken out of the ſayd booke of the Vaticane, and inſerted in the concluſion of the Quadripartite hiſtory, aliàs Quadrilogus the Cronickles of S. Thomas.

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Cronickles of S. Thomas.

2. Churches of our lord the Kinges fee, cannot bee giuen for euer without assent and consent of his Maiesty. *This hee tolerated.*

3. Clearkes cited, and accused vppon any cause beeing summoned to the kinges Courte shall appeare before the sayd Courte, there to answere in such sorte, as to the royall Court shal seeme conuenient for them to answer: soe as the kinges Bench, shall send into the Court of the holy Church, to see vpon what ground the cause shall bee there handled; and if the Clearke bee conuicted, or doe confesse; the Church ought not any longer to defend him. *This hee condemned.*

4. It is not lawfull for Archbishoppes, Bishopes, and Persons of the kingdome to departe the realme without our lord the kinges licence: and if they will departe, they shall at the kinges pleasure giue security, neyther in their goinge, staying, or comming, to compasse any euill, or dammage towards our lord the kinge, or his kingdome. *This hee condemned.*

5. The excommunicate ought not to giue assurance for remayning, or answering the lawe, neither bee sworne, but only giue pledge, and security to stand to the Churches iudgement, and soe obtayne absolution. *This hee condemned.*

Ad Remanens which is think to the I law,

6. Laymen ought not to bee accused in the

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preſence of the Biſhop, but by teſtimony of certaine, and lawfull witneſſes, ſo as the Archdeacon may not loſe his right nor any thing which ſhould thereby accrewe vnto him; and if the accuſed bee ſuch as no man will, or dare accuſe them, the Shyreefe beeing required by the Biſhop, ſhall ſweare 12. lawfull men of the neighborhood, or village before the Biſhop to lay open the whole truth, according to their conſcience. *This hee tolerated.*

7. No man who houldeth of the king in cheyfe, nor any of his Maieſties houſehould ſeruantes, ſhall bee excommunicated, nor their landes made ſubiect to interdiction, vnleſſe our lord the kinge (if hee bee within the land) or his Lord-cheife iuſtice (if his Maieſtie bee out of the Realme) bee firſt made priuy thereof, that hee may therein determine of the delinquent according to right, whereby ſuch matters, as appertaine to the kinges Court, may bee there iudged; and what beelongeth to the Eccleſiaſtical courte returned thither, there to bee ended. *This hee condemned.*

8. As touching appeales, if they ariſe, men ought to proceede from the Archdeacon to the Biſhoppe, from the Biſhop to the Archbiſhop, and if the Archbiſhop faile to execute iuſtice, they ought for

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theire laſt refuge to flie to our lord the king, that by his commandement, the controuerſie may bee determined in the Archbishops Courte: ſo as they shall not attempt any farther, without the kinges aſſent. *This hee condemned.*

9. If there ariſe any controuerſie, betweene Clearke and a lay-man, or contrariwiſe about any tenement which the Clearke claymeth to bee held in free Almes, the layman in laye fee, it shall bee determined beefore the lord cheife iuſtice according to his diſcretion in the kinges Bench by the verdict of 12. lawfull men, whether the tenement appertayneth to free Almes, or to the lay fee, and if it bee found to bee free Almes, then shall it bee pleaded in the Eccleſiaſtical court: and if of a lay fee then (vnleſs both parties auow the ſame to bee helde of one ſelfe ſame Bishop or Baron) the plea shall bee ended in the kinges Bench: but if both of them make their auowry of land helde of one ſelfe ſame Bishop or Baron then shall the plea remayne in the court of the ſaid Bishop or Baron. Allwayes prouided, that hee (who was firſt ſeyzed) looſe not his ſeyſon by reaſon of this recognition. *This hee condemned.*

10. Any man of citty, castle, Borough, or the kinges Demeaſne mannor, beeing cited by the Archdeacon or Bishop for any offence

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wherein hee is bound to answer him, and will not giue satisfaction vpon his citation, it shall bee lawfull for him to subiect the offendor to interdiction, but not to excommunication, beefore the kinges cheife officer of the place bee first acquainted therewith, that hee may adiudge the offendor to make satisfaction; wherein if the kinges officer bee defaulty, hee shall fall into his Maiesties mercy; and then the Bishop may after punish the accused with Ecclesiasticall censures. *This hee condemned.*

11. Archbishoppes, Bishoppes, and all Persons of the kingdome, who hould of the kinge in cheife, and haue possessions in his dominion, as a Barony, shall in reguard therof answer to the kinges iustices and officers, and followe and performe all royall customes and rightes, and ought to sit with the other Barons, in the kinges courte vntill the iudgment come to losse of member or life. *This hee tolerated,*

12. When an Archbishoppricke, Bishoppricke, Abbacy, or Priory of the kinges Dominiō shall fall voyd or ought to be in his Maiesties hādes, hee shall receaue all their rentes and reuenues, as those of his owne royall demeanes, and when time commeth, tō prouide princi. all persons of the Church; and the election ought to bee made in his owne chappel by his royall assent and the counsell of such

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of such Persons appertayning to his Maiestie as hee shall call to perfect the same, and the Prelate elected shall there doe his homage and fealty to our Lord the King, as his Leige Lord of life, member and earthly honor, sauing his order, before such time as he bee consecrated. *This hee condemned.*

13. If any noble-mā of the kingdome, shall powerfully ouerbeare any Archbishop, Bishop or Archdeacon in matter of iustice, so as hee cannot obtaine the right beelonging to him or his, the king ought to make him haue his owne according to iustice: And if any one will ouerbeare our Lord the king in clayming his right, the Archbishops, Bishops and Archdeacons ought to procure his Maiesties iustice, that his aduersary may satisfy our Lord the king. *This hee tollerated.*

14. When any shall forfeit their chattells vnto the king, no Church nor Church-yeard ought to detaine them, contrary to his Maiesties iustice; beecause bee they found in Churches, or otherwise, all is one, they are his Maiesties. *This hee tollerated.*

15. Pleadinges in matter of debt, which are grounded vpon oath, as well as others which are without oathe, shall bee handled in the king's court. *This hee condemned. I thinke beecause periury was punished in the Spirituall courte.*

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16. The sonnes of Villanes, ought not to take holy orders, without assent of their Lordes, of whose landes they are knowne to bee natiues. *This hee tollerated.*

How the Pope proceeded with S. Thomas

Which beeing read, and considered, Pope Alexander (as beefore) beeing very much troubled, turning himselfe to the Archbishop vsed these wordes: Although, brother, the offence of you and your associate Bishoppes bee great, and enormious; yet ought wee to proceede more mildly with you, who albeeit (as you confesse) haue fallen, yet presently after, with rising agayne, endeauored to repaire your ruine, and by reason thereof endured many greeuous, and terrible wronges; and presently vpon your fall (remayning as yet in England) did seeke, and deserue from vs, as proceeding from our clemency, the benefit of Absolution; whereupon (as it is conuenient) wee pardon your offence, to the end you, in this your aduersity, may soe much the more fully and effectually feele the consolation, and grace of our clemency, aboue other Ecclesiasticall Persons; by how much the more you haue lost worldly commoditys, and sustayned greater afflictions, for the liberty of the Church, your faith, and deuotion towardes vs. And thus the Apostolicke Prelate first rebukeing with a fatherly seuerity, and then recomforting, with the sweetenes of a motherly consolation, dismissed for that time the Archbishop. Soe is the matter there discribed. But an other speech, far differing from this heere recyted, and supposed to bee made by sainct Thomas to Pope Alexander, is rehearsed in the fore mentioned volume of Epistles. Then our Author preceedeth.

Lib. 1. Epist. 5.

The morrow after, the Archbishop beeing present with my Lord the Pope, and the Cardinalls, sitt-

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ting in a withdrawing chamber, vſed theſe wordes: My fathers and lordes, it is vnlawfull for a man to ſpeake vntruly any where, much more before God, and in your preſence: wherefore with teares I confeſſe, that my miſerable offence, was the originall of theſe agreeuances, to the Church of England. I aſcended into the fould of Chriſt, but not by the true dore, as a perſon not called by Cannonicall election but intruded by the terror of publick authority; and although I vndertooke this burden againſt my minde, neuertheleſſe the will of man, and not of God induced mee thereunto. What wonder then, if thinges ſucceeded contrary to my expectation? But if I had vpon the kinges threateninges (as my aſſociate Biſhoppes inſtantly perſuaded mee) renounced at the Princes pleaſure, and deſire, the prerogatiue of the Epiſcopal power ſoe granted mee, I had left to the Catholike Church a pernicious example. I differred it therefore, vntill I came before your preſence; but now acknowledging myne entrãce not to bee Cannonicall, and fearing therefore my departure will fall out to bee farre worſer, perceauing alſo my ability too weake for vndergoeing ſoe great a charge, leaſt I proue to bee preferred ouer my flocke for their ruine, ouer whom I am placed (howſoeuer) for à Paſtor, into your handes (ô holy father) into your handes, I ſay, I reſigne the Archbiſhoppricke of Canterbury. And pulling withall his ring from his finger, hee humbly beeſought a fit Biſhop might bee prouided, worthie of that Church, in reguard that hee hauing the name of a Paſtor, proformed not the office of a Paſtor. And finiſhing his ſpeech, he inforced my Lord the Pope and all preſent, to like ſorrowe; yea what man hearing this, can abſtayne from lamentation.

S. Thomas reſigneth his Archbiſhoprick before the Pope.

The Archbiſhop afterwardes departing aſyde, toge-

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ther with his followers, who were scandalized at his wordes, beecause in reguard heereof, they began to dispaire; My lord the Pope did heereupon enter into conference with the Cardinalls, the matter beeing on both sides, through sundry opinions, diuersly discussed. Some thought, occasion beeing thus offered, the Kinges indignation might bee more easily appeased, while the Church of Canterbury, by the election of an other Bishop, might bee reconcyled to his fauour, and saint Thomas otherwise prouided with more competent meanes. These were the Pharisees (soe the Author termeth the aduersaryes of S. Thomas) Others, whose eyes were opened, iudged otherwise, saying: That if hee, who, for defence of the Churches liberty, exposed to imminent hazard, and danger, not only his riches, and glory, with dignity and authority, but also his very life, should at the kinges pleasure bee depriued of his right, as hee should bee made a patterne to others in like case for resisting of Princes, if the tytle of his iuste cause were mayntayned intire; soe on the other side, were hee suffered to fall, all other Bishopes would fall after him, and none in time to come dare to resist the power of willfull Princes, whereby the state of the Church would stagger, and the Popes authority perish; and therefore, say they, it is expedient that this man (although vnwilling) should bee restored to his sea, and hee, who fighteth for vs, by all meanes succoured. This sentence was approued by all, the Pharisies only excepted.

The Pope restereth to S. Thomas his resigned Archbishoppricke.

Saint Thomas with his followers beeing called in, my Lord the Pope thus deliuered his sentence. Now at length (Brother) appeareth to vs, the zeale you haue had, and doe as yet still continew for the house of our Lord; with how sincere a conscience, you haue opposed your selfe, as a bullwarke against her aduer-

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saries; how pure a confession you haue made, of your entry into your function, making a voluntarie resignation, whereby the fault of the offence may, and ought to bee purged. Now may you securely receaue an w from our handes, the charge of your Pontifi all authority, wee adiudging you to bee intirely restored, and out of all doubt, worthily, whom wee knowe to bee a man approoued, with manifold kindes of temptations, a person prouident and discreete, beeloued of God and man, faithfull in all thinges to vs, and the sacred Church of Rome: And as you haue bin made a partaker, and vndeuided associate, in our persecution, soe, by Gods grace, can wee neuer in any thing bee wanting to you, as long as the breath of life shall last in this our body. But hauing hitherto flowed in delights, that you may heereafter learne to bee, as you ought, the comforter of the poore, neither yet can you bee taught that lesson, but by the instruction of pouerty it selfe, the mother of Religion, wee haue heere thought good to commend and commit you ouer to the poore of Christ (I meane this Abbot of Pontiniack for hee was there of purpose present) not I say to receaue sumptuous but simple education, as best beesitting a banished man and Christes Champion: Among whom it behoueth you with a few, and those necessary attendantes (the rest of your followers beeing distributed among your freindes) to conuerse for a tyme, vntill the day of consolation shall beegin to dawne, and the season of peace shall from aboue descend vpon vs. In the meane while bee of a constant courrage, and manfully resiste such as disturbe tranquillity. Thus far Alexander; and soe the assembly was dismissed. Saint Thomas departing went away with the Abbot of Pontiniack, where willing to liue among the Monkes in a Monastical habit, hee desired the

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ſame might bee ſanctify'd with Pope Alexander's bleſſing, and cloathed therein hee perſeuered a Mõke, among the Monkes, abſolutely obſeruing all the rules of Monaſticall perfection. But what the kinge did, when hee heard heereof, you shall not only ſee (reader) but maruaile thereat.

To the open iniury of Pope Alexander, then reſydent at Senon in Frãce, hee published new artickles, worſer, then the firſt, which hee commanded to bee obſerued in his Prouinces beeyond the ſeas, beeing Aquitayne, and other places vnder his ſubiection; and among other letters, hee directed one concerning the ſame, to the Bishop of Poyteeres, who, as he witneſſeth in his Epiſtle to ſainct Thomas receaued it after the feaſt of the Apoſtles. And what theſe Edictes were is heere to bee layd downe, out of the ſayd booke of the Vatican, where wee read in this wiſe. *Theſe are the Conſtitutions which King Henry ordayned in Normandy, and gaue in command to his Iuſtices.*

Lib 1. Epiſt. 1. Idem poſtea Epiſt. 16.

1. If any man bee found carrying our Lord the Popes letters, or the Archbishop of Canterburies mandate, contayning Interdiction of Chriſtianity, into England: let him bee apprehended, and iuſtice, without delay, executed on him, as a traitor to the king.

2 Mereouer let no clearke, nor Monke, nor conuertite, nor any of any conuerſion bee ſuffered to paſſe ouer the ſeas, or returne into England; vnleſſe hee haue letters of iuſtice, for his paſſage, and the letters of our Lord the kinge, for his returne; if any man bee found to doe otherwiſe; let him bee apprehen-

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ded and impriſoned.

3. Let no man appeale to the Pope or Archbiſhop.

4. That no plea bee held by the commandement of the Pope, or Arch-biſhop, or any Mandate of theires receaued in England of any man: if any one bee found doeing otherwiſe; let him bee apprehended and impriſoned.

5. It was alſo generally forbidden, that no man ſhould cary any Mandate of Clearke or Lay-man, to our Lord the Pope, or Archbiſhop; if ſuch ſhould bee found, let him bee apprehended and impriſoned.

6. If Biſhoppes, Clearkes, Abbottes, or Lay-men will defend any ſentence of interdiction: let them, and all theyr whole kindred without delay, bee banished the land, in ſuch wiſe, as they carry none of theyr chattells with them.

7. That the chattells of all ſuch, as fauour the Pope or Archbiſhop, and all the poſſeſſions of them, and all ſuch as appertayne to them, of what degree, order, ſex, or condition ſoeuer they are, bee ſeized and confiſcate, into the ſoueraigne hand of our Lord the king.

8. That all Clearkes, who haue rentes in England, bee admoniſhed through-out all countryes, that within three monthes, they

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returne into England, to theyr rentes (if they loue theyr rentes) and if they retourne not at the appointed time; let theyr rentes bee ſeized into the kings handes.

9. That ſaint Peeter's pennys bee not payd any more to the Apoſtolike Sea, but carefully gathered and reſerued in the king's treaſury, and diſburſed at his commandement.

10. That the Biſhoppes of London and Norwich, bee at the mercy of our Lord the king, and ſummoned, by the Shyriffes, and Bayliffes, to appeare before the kinges Iuſtices, to ſatisfy the kinge, and his Iuſtices, for that contrary to the ſtatutes of Claringtonne, they interdicted, by the Popes commendement, the landes of Earle Hugh, and diuulged the excommunication (which our Lord the Pope pronounced againſt him) in theyr pariſhes, without the kinges Iuſtices. *Hetherto are the kinges conſtitutions which were ſent into Normandie.*

Nor yet king Henry contented heere withall, for the hatred hee bore to ſaint Thomas, cauſed the whole eſtate of the Saint, and his followers to bee confiſcate, and all his kindred and familiar freindes, to bee tranſported out of England, and ſparing neither ſex, nor age, made an exceeding showe of extreme cruelty. All this is declared at large in Quadrilogus, a booke compiled of ſaint Thomas. And all this was written to him, by one affected to the kinge, yet deteſting this tyranny, vnworthie ſoe great a Prince. And beecauſe

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saínct Thomas himselfe was not able to relieue the miserable necessityes of soe many distressed persons; hee deuised to send thē into Cecill to bee there mayntained, where they were receaued by Margarete, Queene of that Iland, a right pious woeman. Moreouer the Archbishop of Siracusa, beecame their good benefactor, both which, by letters saint Thomas gratefully thanked. But this soe great a cruelty, beeing not able to satisfy the kinges inraged mynd; hee wrought beesides by decree, to depriue saínct Thomas of Spirituall benefittes, commanding that noe man, vnder his Episcopall iurisdiction, should presume to pray for him. This William witnesseth in *Quadrilogus*. *Lib. 1. Epist. 27. & 28.*

Now concerning saínct Peeters pennyes, which were appointed by Pope Alexander, to bee gathered by two Priors of the Cistercians, who gaue it ouer, and durst not gaynesay the kinges commandement to the contrary, Peeter of Bloys, one of his Maiesties courte, plucking vp a couragious spiritt, contested with his Soueraigne, and enforced him to leaue the payement thereof free to his Holines, and this himselfe witnesseth in his inuectiue against the deprauer of his actions, with these wordes; I speake not this for vaine glory, but for refutation of thyne impudency (for thou art transformed vnto the browe of an harlot, by the testimony, and affirmation of very many peeres of England.) King Henry of worthy memory, did once (cōcerning the collection of the pennys of saint Peeter) not induring then to bee won by intreaty, or recalled by reason, inueygh exceedingly, against two Priors of thyne order: no man durst oppose himselfe on the contrary parte; I only attempted to make a breach, and way for them, and in time of wrath beecame their reconciliation: At myne instances (God assisting) his royall hand full often poured out bounti- *Concerning the forbidding of paying S. Peeters pennys.*

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full and magnificent almes, and to this day the Church of Saintes recounteth his charitable benignity. Thus fare Peeter, who although hee were the king's faithfull ſeruante, yet ſeeking rather the honor of God then men, omitted not, as much as in him lay, to defend vnder hand the cauſe of ſaint Thomas.

AN. DOM. 1165.

Now followeth the yeere of our Lord 1165. with the xv. Indiction, according, to times computation; in the beeginning whereof, an Ambaſſag was ſent from Mawde the Empreſſe, mother of Henry king of England, to Pope Alexander, wherin shee beeſought his Holines, to ioyne in league the kinges of France, and England, which if hee could accomplish, a peace was likely to enſue, beetweene the king of England and ſaint Thomas. When Iohn of Salisbury (who was reſident in Alexanders courte) had notice heereof, hee certifyd ſaint Thomas thereof, by letter, beeginning thus. *When as lately I ſollicited my Lord the Pope, incouraging him, and carefully inſinuating a way (which meethought I vnderſtood) for reducing to him and you the tranquillity of peace: hee anſwered, that hee conceaued a hope of peace, from wordes of the Empreſſe, who vpon a vowe ſent then the Abbot of ſaint Martyrs thither, promiſing the king of England could eaſily bee perſwaded, to what ſoeuer my Lord deſired, if his Holines would (as hath bin long wished) confederate the two kinges: wherein, beecauſe my Lord the Pope is forward, the king of France (as ſurely it ſemeeth) will eaſily inclyne, vpon the Popes conference, with the kinges; and that his Holines had allready inuited the king of France, to keepe the feaſt of the Purification with him.* Thus far concerning the conceaued hope of Peace:

An Embaſſage to the Pope from mawde the Empreſſe.

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and added moreouer, *That hee spoake with the king of France, whom hee found very fearefull, least vpon such occasion, hee should bee withdrawne from the communion of the Church of Rome, and leauing Pope Alexander, cleaue to the scysmaticall faction.*

These thinges thus signifyed, Salisbury beeseecheth saint Thomas, to employ himselfe rather in prayer, then the study of learning, from whose letters receaue these notes, which in *Quadrilogus* are recyted, out of Herebert concerning sainct Thomas; while hee remayned as yet in the Monastery of Pontiniacke, hee was so much affected to the reading of holy scriptures, as daily after the Cānonicall houres, the sacred bookes were scarce euer out of his handes; whereupon, by reason of his loue to the Scriptures, and labour employed therein, hee did in shorte tyme soe profit, as most often in the nice and obscureste sentences, hee excelled his instructors themselues; moreouer, hee bestowed his life in studying the Ecclesiasticall Cannons; which endeauours of his, in these dangerous tymes, were no whit pleasing to Iohn of Salisbury, whom saint Thomas held in no smale estimation, as well in reguard of his singuler honesty, as also his learning, who confident of his credit with this saint, admonisheth him in the same letters, of these thinges worthie remēbrance, saying. *My counsel, my desire, my instant intreaty is, that you wholly conuert your mynd vnto our Lord, and the suffrages of prayers, beecause (as it is written in the Prouerbes) the name of our Lord is the strongest tower, whereunto if any man flye, hee shall bee deliuered out of all extremities. Put of in the meane time, as much as you may, all other businesses, beecause although they seeme marueilous necessary, yet what I perswade you is more highly to bee preferd, in regarde it is farre more necessary; The lawes and Cannons of the Church doe profit, but beelieue*

Cod. Vat. lib. 1. Ep. 31.

Prouerb. 18.

The profitable admonition of a friend to S. Thomas.

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mee this other woorke, is now of more importance; those ornamentes are not fitable to this season, for they are not soe much the procurers of deuotion, as of curiosity. Doe you not remember, how in the distresse of the people (as it is written) the Preists and Ministers poured out their teares beetweene the porch and the Altar, saying: Spare ô Lord, spare thy people. I was exercised (sayd the Prophet) and I sweeped my spirit, in the day of tribulation, seeking our Lord with my handes. Which teach vs that spirituall excercise, with cleansing and examination of the conscience, turneth away the scourge, and obtaineth the mercy of God. Who riseth with compunction from perusing the lawes and Cannons? Nay I say more; these exercises in schooles, doe sometimes puffe vp knowledge to swell in pride, but seldome or neuer inflame vs with deuotion. I had rather you would meditate on the Psalmes, and spend your life in saint Gregorie's Moralles, *then beecome a* Philosopher *after the* Scholastical *fashyon; it is farre better to confer with a spirituall father, for amendment of manners, by whose example you may bee incensed, then to sifte and discusse pointes of controuersies, appertayning to secular literature: our Lord knoweth with what intent, with what deuotion I suggest these thinges. Accept them as you please; but if you performe this, God will euer assist you, that you shall neuer haue cause to feare, what soeuer man deuiseth against you; our Lord seeth, that in these instant streightes of afflictions, wee are not to hope, (as I thinke) in any mortal creature &c.* Thus Iohn aduised saint Thomas very conueniently,

Ioel. 2. *Psal. 76. ibidem.*

In the meane time, S. Thomas, oppressed with extreme afflictiõs; although absent, yet with letters doth prosecute his busines, writing as well to the king of England, as also to the Bishoppes, who ought to exhorte and admonish their Prince. To the king hee directed

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theſe letters, which Roger in his Cronicle deliuereth in theſe wordes.

To his Dread Soueraigne Lord, Henry by the grace of God, the famous king of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Eearle of Anioue: Thomas by the ſame grace the humble ſeruãt of the Chuch of Canterbury, ſendeth greeting and all wishes of well-doinge.

The letter of S. Tomas to the king of England.

To ſpeake of God, is the parte of a free, and well quieted mynde, which cauſeth mee ſoe to ſpeake to my Lord: And I would wee might treate peaceably. I humbly beeſeech you (my Lord) to endure with patience ſome litle admonition, concurring with the grace of God, which was neuer voyd for the ſaluation of your ſoule, and deliuery of myne. I am on all ſides beeſet with extremityes, for tribulation and perplexities haue found mee, in the midſt of two moſt weyghty and fearefull matters, plunged, I ſay, beetwene theſe two important thinges, dreaded ſilence, and Admonition. Let mee ceaſe to ſpeake, death is then threatened mee, nor can I auoyd the hand of our Lord, ſaying: If thou ſhalt not showe the offendor his fault, and hee thereby dyeth in his ſinne, I will require his blood at thy handes. On the other ſide, let mee admonish; I ſee not how to eſchewe (which God forbid) my Soueraignes indignation; fearing moreouer leaſt that ſhould beefall, which the wiſe man foretould, ſaying: when hee who pleaſeth not, commeth or ſendeth to make interceſſion or motion, it is to bee feared, leaſt the incenſed bee thereupon far more inraged. What ſhall I therefore doe? ſpeake? Or hold my peace? ſince on euery ſide danger menaceth mee. But beecauſe it is ſafer, to fall into the indignation of man, then into the handes of our liuing Lord, beeing confident in the mercy of the higheſt, in whoſe handes are

Ezech. 3.

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Daniel.13. *the heartes of Kinges, inclining them to what ſide hee liſteth (and I wish to the better) I will ſpeake to my Lord, ſince I haue once beegunn for many times, benefitts are prepared euen for the vnwilling, eſpecially when wee aduiſe them rather for their ſaftie then pleaſure. In your realme is held captiue the daughter Sion, the ſpouſe of the mightie king is oppreſſed by many, beeing afflicted by thoſe, who haue long time hated her: and of whom shee rather should bee honoured then aggreeued, eſpecially of your ſelfe: weyghing therefore ſeriously in your owne conſcience, the ſingular benefitts which God hath beeſtowed on you in the firſt entrance of your raigne, in the midſt thereof, and euen allmoſt to this very day, looſe now her bandes, and ſuffer her to rule together with her ſpouſe, that God may bountifully bleſſe you, your kingdome inſtantly recouer his former power, obloquie bee washed away from your generation, and ſingular peace flourish in your dayes. Giue credit to mee (moſt beeloued Lord moſt renowned Prince) for our Lord with patience repayeth, with longanimity expecteth, but with terror reuengeth. Liſten to mee and doe well, otherwiſe ought you to dread (which God forbid) leaſt the Almighty beegirt with his ſwoard on his thigh, and come in a ſtrange hand, with a huge army to deliuer his ſpouſe (not without greeuous punishment) from her oppreſſion, and ſeruitude of tribulation; but if you will harken vnto mee (beecauſe our Lord hath at this inſtant moſt vrgent occaſion, to make tryall of your obſequious ſeruice, as of his couragious ſouldier) God will poure out his benefittes on you, adding glory, to the poſterity of your ſonnes and daughters, in long induring ages. Otherwiſe I feare (which God forbid) that the ſwoard ſhall neuer departe from your family, vntill hee commeth, who ſhall fully reuenge the iniury offered him, and his, beeing God Almighty himſelfe; like to the plague which left not the houſe of Solomon, from whom (although God made*

His admonition concerning the eſtate of the Church.

choyse of him, and gaue him that abundance of wisedome and peace, as it was sayd of all, This is the sone of wisedome, and peace: yet beecause hee flew backe from the wayes of our Lord, and walked in iniquity vpon iniquity) God rent his kingdome, and gaue it to his seruant especially in reguard hee sought not instantly, after his sinne, to appease the wrath of our Lord, like Dauid his father, who presently vpon his offence humbled himselfe to God, corrected his fault, beesought mercy, and obtayned pardon. I would to Almighty God, that you likewise through the grace of our Lord, would imitate his example. And thus much for the present I write, the rest I leaue to the relation of this bearer, a man Religious, and of great estimation, and, as I suppose, your faithfull seruant, vnto whom I humbly beeseech you (if it pleaseth your Maiestie) that you will confidently giue credit, although I rather desire, with your royall fauour, to speake with your selfe in presence. God grant my Lord and king now and euer well to fare.

Thus much to the king, sending also by the same messinger, these letters worthie your attention to the Bishop of Hereforde,

Thomas by the grace of God, the humble seruante of the Church of Canterbury, to his reuerent brother Robert, by the same grace, Bishope of Hereforde sendeth greeting, and wisheth him in all thinges well to doe.

The letter of saint Thomas to Robert Bishop of Hereford.

If my letter, had stirred vp in your Brotherhood, a carefull diligence, I had not found you slougthfull in your affection, or not effectually watchfull for discharging the duty of your vndertaken office. I haue made choyse to bee an abiect, to bee accursed for all, to bee the obloquie of men, and the out cast of the people, to the end, I may not

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ſee the calamityes of the Saintes, and rather then to diſſemble the iniurys of our nation; expecting if perchance, any one among yee, beeing zealous of the law of God, and thirſting the liberty of the Church, would come after, and ioyne with mee, that wee might not yeeld hornes of power to offendors: and beehould, you, who (as I beeleined) was beeſtowed on mee by God, that together with mee, might build, pull downe, and plant, beegin to mee with conuerting your ſpurre of zeale, to ruine, and your comforte to deſpaire, preaching humiliation, nay deiection, and denouncing goodnes, when on all ſides there is nothing left, but trouble to the deſtruction of the Church of God, and of his cleargie; yea euen at ſuch time, whenas you ought cheifely to confirme with conſtācy the wauering mynde, and indure with mee the combate, for defence of the patrimony of the crucify'd, for repreſſing, and ſubduing the enemyes of the Church, to ſound into myne eares, to breath into my head, that I ſhould intreate more inſtantly, reproue more sharply, rebuke more ſeuerely, and if prechance they liſten not to mee, then truly to cry out to mee Ariſe. Why doe you sleepe Plucke out the ſwoard of ſainct Peeter, reuenge the blood of the ſeruantes of Chriſt, which is poured forth with the iniurys of the Church, that in you and vs are dayly ſuſtained. Is it cleane ſlipt out of your memory, with how greate iniuries I was afflicted, with what reproches abuſed, when in my perſon Chriſt was againe, before the Tribunal of a Prince, adiuged? I call not againe to minde, the wrong offered to myne owne perſon, although the ſame was alſo in truth to the Church: Marke you more diligently, conſider deepely in your harte, what was done beefore my departure out of the land; what in my departure, and what after my departure, yea what is done euery day in the realme againſt the Church of God & his cleargie? with what conſcience can theſe things bee diſſembled by you, who
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who was expected to bee a Redeemer of Israel? a champion, to deliuer the Church out of bondage? And now beecause you haue bin soe long silent, I poure out my plaintes against you. O my eldest sonne! I feare an other will step in your place, to beereaue you of your inheritance, yea win from you (which God forbid) the blessing of an heire. But although hetherto you haue rested silent, recouer now your courage againe my deerest sonne! Cry out, and cease not: Lift vp your voyce on high against them, darte feare into their heartes, strike into them contrition, force out of them satisfaction, least otherwise, the wrath of God fall downe vpon them, and the whole nation, or (which God forbid) on the mightyst Potentates of the kindome; for the iust reuenge of God, hangeth euen now ouer their heades. This I write not to confound you, but to forewarne you, to bee watchfull; that, supported with the authority of almighty God and of vs, you may bee heereafter able, and willing with more strength and power to performe the dutys of your charge. In breife, this only thing I would haue you now to knowe, that through the mercy of God, they shall neuer wrest from mee the Churches confusion. All this not with standing, I giue you thankes, in reguard you would at this tyme visite, and refresh mee with your consolation.

What say I more? more one thing there is, which without greeuous sorrow of mynde, I cannot ouerpasse. I lament truly my deerest beeloued Lord the kinge; for feare and trembling haue fallen vpon mee, and darknes couered mee round about, in reguard I see tribulation and extremityes hang ouer my Lord and Prince, neither yet is it strange, for hee hath shaken the Church of God, and disturbed the same, shewing hard measure to the Cleargie of the land, and giuing them for drinke the wine of sorrowe; wherefore our Lord saith to him: where are now thy wise Counsellors, who haue giuen thee foolish aduise, who said, Psal. 54. Isai. 19.

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thou art the sonne of the prudent, the sonne of ancient kinges, whose customes are to bee obserued in England, and whose lawes whosoeuer shall refuse to obey, hee is not Cesar's freind, but enemy to the Crowne, guilty of iudgment; yet neuertheles (which is of worth) hee is a freind to the Crosse of Christ: beecause woe bee to them, who enact lawes of iniquity, and writing haue indighted iniustice, whereby they may oppresse the poore in iudgement, and commit violence on the cause of the humble of the people; that Churches and widowes may bee their prey, and they themselues waste the gooddes of the Clergy, and others: what will they doe in the day of visitation, and calamity approching afar of? to whom will they flye for refuge? and where will they relinquish their gloryes, to the end they bee not depressed with iudgment, and falling dye with the murdered? where are now his wise ones, let them come forth, declare to him and showe, what our Lord of Hostes hath thought of England, his graue counsellors are beecome fooles, and his Princes haue withered away, they haue deceaued England the Angle and Corner of the world, our lord hath intermingled among them the spirit of giddynes, they haue made England erre in their workes, as the drunken man erreth, with vomiting, and trembling, and it shall not bee Englands worke either to make head or tayle, beecause they haue denoured Iacob, and
Psal. 78. made his place desolate, and sayd; let vs possesse for our inheritance the sanctuarie of God, with vphraiding Prieftes, and their Princes; saying: whither will yee flye out of our handes? And in whom is reposed your confidence? why haue yee resisted, and withstood our preceptes? O how vaine are these conceptes, and how extreme vyle are these workes in the sight of our Lord? Hee seeth truly that all these things are idle: for hee will deride him, who deuiseth thus and him who doeth thus; foreseeing that his day is euen at hand, yea entring at the very dore, and bet

will say: Loe heere the men, who haue not setled their succour in God, but haue planted their hope in the abundance of their riches, and preuayled in their vanity, and yet to no purpose are these their workes: Our Lord leaueth not his Church and Clergie without a defendor, nor without a most terrible reuenge, for she is founded vpon a strong rocke, yea the rocke is Christ himselfe, who hath built her with his owne proper blood. Assuredly vnlesse they reforme these sinns, they will not passe vnreuenged, beecause they haue trampled vnder their feete the holy of holys, the house of God, by afflicting his preistes with iniurys, and reprochfull wordes: for his Preistes are they to whom our Lord himselfe speaketh thus: I haue said yee are Goddes, and all, the sonnes of the highest. And in another place: who heareth yee, heareth mee, and who contemneth yee, contemneth mee; and who toucheth yee, toucheth the aple of myne eye. Let them returne to their hartes, and cast these mischeefes away from them; let them doe pennance, in the depth of humility: otherwise it is to bee feared least our Lord (which God forbid) will come, bring vpon thē, and their land greeuous tribulation, and the most heauy reuenge of retribution; Behould our Lord will come, and will not delay, but hee will saue vs, yea hee neuer forsaketh such as trust in him: for the Prophet sayth: Hope in our Lord, and doe righteousnes, and thou shalt beefed in his riches: And in another place: Expect our Lord, and deale manfully, and let thy harte bee comforted, and endure our Lord, and quickly shalt thou bee deliuered from the hunter's net, and the bitter word. And that I may finish all the rest with a worthie conclusion; In regard, our Lord declareth vnto vs, what and how great aduersityes wee must suffer, for his name, and defence of his Church; it is requisite, yea most necessary, that both you & the whole Church committed to your charge, pray instantly for vs,

Psal. 52. Psal. 81. Luc. 10. Psal. 26. Psal. 36.

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that what by our owne merrits, wee are not able to atcheyue, wee may obtaine to accomplish by your interceſſion, & the ſuffrages of the holy men, who liue in your Dioces, and thereby come to purchaſe eternal grace. Farwell, and bee, of good comfort; yea farwell the whole Church of England, and bee comforted in our Lord, that wee may all together fare-well.

Thus wrote ſaint Thomas out of France (where hee then liued) into England. But what in the meane time did the king of England?

The requeſtes of the king of England: Embaſſadors to the Pope.

Before Alexander departing out of France, vndertooke his iourney towards Rome (which hapned in Eaſter this preſent yeere) the King of Englands Embaſſadors came to Pope Alexander; But what their Embaſſage was, you shall now heare out of Alan in Quadril. In the meane time were meſſangers ſent of all ſides, yea from my lo: the Pope himſelfe, to eſtablish peace. In the end it was on all hands agreed, that my Lo: the Pope, & the King should at an appointed time & place, meete together; to the end, by their intercourſe of ſpeech, the way for peace might bee more eaſily deuiſed. The King aſſenteth to bee there preſent, ſo as the Archbishop would not as then appeare in place, beecauſe hee would not in the ſight of ſaint Thomas behould the face of my Lord the Pope. The Archbishop on the other parte, forewarned his Holines, not in any caſe to entertaine this parlee with the King, but in preſence of himſelfe, who was beſt acquainted with his faſhõs: for hee ſayd, the piety of the Apoſtolicke Sea may ſoone bee deceaued by the ſubtill varyety of the kings words, if there were not a skillfull interpreter, ready at hand, who were able to ſifte the depth, and intent of his mynd, out of the darke clowdes of his ſpeech. Thus did ſaint Thomas write to the Pope. Whereupon, ſaith Alan, my lord the

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Pope modeſtly anſwering the kinge, affirmed, how it was neuer in any age heard, that the Church of Rome at the command of any Prince whatſoeuer, forbad any perſon her preſence, eſpecially beeing banished for the cauſe of iuſtice; But that it was a priuiledg & authority granted from aboue to the Apoſtolike Sea, to ſuccour the exiled & oppreſſed, yea from the fury of their ſoueraignes, & the violent rage of their malitious enemys. The Embaſſadors therfore repining, departed, to deliuer this meſſage to their king, and my lord the Pope determining to returne to Rome, vndertooke his iourney. Thus Alan, whom ſaint Thomas followed as far as Bituricum, where taking leaue & receauing his bleſſing, hee departed backe to Pontiniake, neuer after ſeeing Pope Alexander in this world.

AN. DOM. 1166.

The yeere 1166. enſueth and the 14. indiction. When Frederick the Emperour ſeeing the proſperitie of the Catholicke Pope Alexander, daily more and more to encreaſe, and that his holines was now peaceable ſetled in Rome, beeing enraged with anger and enuie, commanded a Conuentickle in Witemberge (otherwiſe called Herbolis) at the feaſt of Penticoſt, where hee meant with his Bishops and Princes to aſſemble for cõfirming the power of this Antipope Guido. Wherefore the king of England beeing by the Emperour inuited to this ſcyſme, beecauſe experience taught him that Pope Alexander inclined to the parte of ſaint Thomas, taking aduantage of this fit oportunitie for his excuſe, ſent an ambaſſage vnto the Citty to Pope Alexander, determining if hee refuſed to yeeld to his demands, then to fall off from him to Guido; for the better accomplishment whereof, hee

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wrote theſe letters to the Archbiſhop of Colen (the cheife ring-leader of the ſcyſmatickes) for procurring a ſafe conduct for his Embaſſadours.

I *haue long ſince deſired to find out ſome iuſt occaſion for leauing the parte of* Pope *Alexander and his vnfaithfull Cardinalls, whoe preſume to maintaine that Traytor Thomas, ſometimes Archbiſhop of Canterbury, againſt mee: whereupon by the aduice of all my Barons, and conſent of the Clergie, intending now to ſend to* Rome *men of great accompt in my kingdome, namely the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Biſhop of London, the Archdeacon of Poyters, Iohn of Oxenford, and Richard de Lucy, who openly and manifeſtly on the beehalfe of my ſelfe and my whole kingdome, with all other landes vnder my dominion, ſhall propound and denounce to* Pope *Alexander and his Cardinalls, that they ſhall no longer defend my Traytor, but ſoe abſolutely diſcharge and free mee of him, as* I, *with the counſail of my Clergie, may eſtabliſh an other in the Church of Canterburie; and ſhall moreouer require that they reuoke and make voyd whatſoeuer Thomas hath done, and likewiſe demand that the Pope in their preſence cauſe it to bee ſworne publickly, that hee and his ſucceſſors ſhall conſerue for euer (as far as to them appertaineth) to mee, and all my ſucceſſors, the royall cuſtomes of Henry my grandfather inuiolable and vntouched, and if by chance they will gainſay any one of my demandes, that then neither* I, *nor my Barons, nor yet my Clergie will euer heereafter yeeld him any obedience; yea wee will openly withſtand him and his, and whoſoeuer vnder my gouermēt ſhall bee found heereafter to follow his parte, ſhall bee banished out of my kingdome.*

I *entreate you as my deareſt frend, all excuſes ſet aparte to ſend mee ſpeedily brother Ernold or brother Randulph of the hoſpitall of ſaint Iohn, whom may on the beehalfe of the Emperour and your ſelfe giue ſafe conduct*

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to the afore said Embassadors as well in their goeing as returne through the Emperour's dominion.

This was the kinges letter. An Embassage was also sent to Pope Alexander, which London and Oxford only executed. But soe far was Pope Alexander from beeing any way moued, either by the terrors of the kinges thundering letters, or other threates vttered by the Embassadors in the kinges name, as hauinge rebuked their rashnes, hee returned to the king himselfe againe an answer fraughte with sharpe reprehension, wherewith beeing terrifyd hee desisted from his wicked intention, and gaue therfore great thankes to his Holines, promising heereafter to obey euer readily in all thinges; whereof the Bishops of England in their epistle sent the next yeere to Pope Alexander, are apparant witnesses; which afterwards in place conuenient wee determine to declare. Meane while (sayth our Author) Colen requireth the Emperors aduise, in what sorte hee should ãswer the king of England; whereunto the Emperor replyeth, that hee ought to satisfy the kinges desire; in reguard with how much the more solemnity this matter is accomplished, soe much the greater shall bee the Popes confussion, if hee condescendeth to the kinges requeste; and it may bee that secretly by some one of the Temple or Hospital or any other (whom they could not preuent) the king by corruption of money may otherwise obtayne the same. Wherefore brother Randolph of the Hospitall was addressed to the king of England, who safely conducted the Embassadors whom the king intended to send to the courte of his Holines through the Emperors dominion.

Thus much there. But soe it beefell that the same Embassadors came first into Germany, where they were present at the Conuentickle of Witemberge; but

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what matters were there handled the letters patents of Fredericke the Emperor, dated at that place, declare; where among other thinges is thus written of this Embaſſage.

Cod. Vat. epiſt 70. *Moreouer the honorable Embaſſadors of our renowned freind the king of England directed from him to vs, did on the beehalfe of the ſame king in the preſence of the whole court, vpon the reliques of Saintes, make their publicke oath to vs, that the king himſelfe together with all his kingdome should continew faithfull to our ſide, and ioyning with vs should euer defend the Lord Paſcall (whoſe parte wee take) and neuer hereafter intermedle in mayntaining Rowland the Schyſmaticke. Becauſe alſo wee (who haue euer hitherto bin ready to abyde the examinatiō of the vprighteouſnes of our cauſe, which the aduerſaries of the Church of God and vs, bee it either out of their pride, or the diſtruſt of their cauſe haue auoyded) are now by reaſon of their manifeſt obſtinacy, compelled to vnacuſtomed oathes: Let therefore, hereafter euery man and eſtate carefully eſchew the Communion of Seyſmatickes; for their fury allthough it hath ſeemed hitherto in ſome ſorte pardonable, it will hereafter bee altogether intollerable &c.* Moreouer in an other letter written by one affected to Pope Alexander is ſayd. *That Fredericke the Emperor gloryeth in the aſſiſtance of the king of England, whoſe Embaſſadors were ſworne to the parte of the Antipope &c.* In an other place likwiſe.

Fredericke Couloreth his buſines with falſe propheſies, that Pope Alexander should bee taken captiue; whereunto not only the vulgar ſorte, but the king of England, expecting the euent, hath allmoſt giuen credit &c. And out of Salisbury: The king of England is confident in the Emperor, ād the captiuity of my Lord the Pope, which the Prophetts of Belial haue tould him.

But whereas the kinges Embaſſadors did ſweare in

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his Maiesties name to followe the Scysmaticall factiō, the Arch-bishop of Roane excuseth the same, as no way done by the kinges commandement, which appeareth in his letters directed to Henry Preist and Cardinall of the title of the Saintes Mereus and Achilleus, written thus.

Concerning the king of England, wee certainly secure you, that neither by himselfe, nor by his Embassadors hee euer gaue oath or promise to leaue the Church and cleaue to the Schysmaticke; yea wee are assured that in those conuenants of Maryage (whatsoeuer they were) although for three dayes the Almaynes indeauoured to peruert him, hee would neuer accord to any thing, but with preseruation of his fidelity to our Lord the Pope, the Church, and the king of France; and as wellour lady the Empresse, as our selues, haue by our letters inioyned him to cleere himselfe with all expedition, from this aspersion. For our partes, beeing at Roan, although the kinges Embassadors were then also there, wee only heard of them, but saw we them not, &c.

But for these Embassadors who faulted soe fouly, wee find that sainct Thomas excommunicated them, as his letters to his suffraganes in the yeere following doe signify, which heere after in their turne wee will declare.

These thinges beeing thus layd open concerninge this passage with Fredericke the Emperour against Pope Alexander, it remayneth that wee likwise know what were the actions of this yeere, concerning saint Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury. When Pope Alexander was certifyed of the king of Englandes Embassadors in the conuenticle of Witemberge, wherby they bound themselues with their king to the Scymaticall Antipope Pascall, it pleased him to admonish the king thereof by letters from the sacred Colledge

The Pope reproueth the King of England.

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of Cardinalls; the letters themselues are not extant: but only the letters of Apologie written by the king in his defence to the holy Colledge of Cardinalls in these words.

Cod. Vat. lib. 2. Ep. 41.

King Henrys Apologie written to the Cardinalls.

As touching that which our Lord the Pope hath signifyed vnto vs, to wit, the alienation of our mynde and intention from our loue and deuotiō to the Roman Church, wee doe first answer, that your wisedome is fully informed, with how sincere an affection wee haue euer loued as well the Romane Church, as also the person of our Lord the Pope, what great attemptes wee haue vndertaken for him, and what affronts wee haue sustayned for his sake: for (to passe ouer other thinges in silence) when the question and controuersie arose for receauing him, wee did not only accept of him our selues, but also drawe, yea inforce diuers others (although vnwilling) to doe the like; nor yet did wee euer estrange our mynde from the fullnes of our affection: But hee (as wee manifestly knowe) who hath in former tymes bin most troublesome to vs (as the euents of his actions many way declare) euen now especially with word, worke, and writing (which cheefely incenseth the myndes of Princes) persecuereth to defame our person, terming vs as well in letters as speech the Persecutor and oppressor of the Church. Now let our Lord the Pope consider, how fatherly this mans proceedinges are towardes vs, who first signifying vnto vs that Princes ought to haue especiall caution and care to preserue their fame vnspotted, neglecteth heere this fatherly affection towards vs, and with word and worke disgraceth our fames renowne.

Wee doe therefore make it knowne to your whole reuerent Colledge, that whatsoeuer honor, eminency and power our kingdome possesseth, ād all other thinges subiect vnto our gouerment, these, and euery one of these, wee acknowledg and professe to bee giuen and bestowed on vs

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by our Lord and Creator, and to him wee render most humble thankes, although not such vs mee ought, beeing thereunto altogether vnable, but such as our power can afford, and would to God our Lord the Pope would beeseech allmighty God in our beehalfe, that wee might offer vp, and vnderstand how to yeeld to our God and Creator all dutifull deuotion and reuerence, and that wee may, with that intire and inward portion of our soules, which wee owe him, feare and loue him only: for truly although wee cannot loue and adore him soe much as in duty wee are bound vnto, neuerthelesse haue wee an affection and desire to serue him in euery thing, to please him in all thinges, and wholy to obey him. Wee intend truly and desire willingly to perseuer in the integrity of the grace and loue of our Lord the Pope, if his Holines will in like sorte maintaine vnto vs and our kingdome the same honor and preseruation of glory and dignity which holy and reuerent Popes of Rome haue shewed to noble and potent Princes our Predecessors.

But concerning appeales which hee supposeth wee prohibite, affirming also that wee restraine the subiects of our kingdome from visiting the Courte of Rome; wee would not haue this concealed from your wisedomes, that wee haue neuer at any time hindred either visitations or appeales, but only require they should bee in such manner, such course, and such fashion ordered, as they haue bin formerly performed according to the customes and dignity of our kingdome in the tyme of our progenitors, who were illustrous Princes, and according to the ordinations and constitutions of the grauest and wisest persons as well of the Clergie as Laytie of our dominions.

In that hee reproueth vs for entring into leage with the excommunicate, wee suppose not wee haue heerein either offended God or proceeded against reason; for as wee receaued from our Lord the Popes owne mouth, his Holi-

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nes neuer held the Lord Fredericke the Emperour of Rome excommunicate, neither yet haue wee heard by relation of any, that hee was afterwardes excommunicated. Neither although wee graunted our daughter in mariage to the Emperours sonne, doe wee beelieue wee haue committed any offence therin: Beecause (that wee may receaue example from the like) as the same was in our knowledge lawfull to the most excellent and mighty king Henry our grandfather, who intermaryed his daughter with Henry of late memory Emperour of Rome, so wee by the same reason deduced from our ancestors, beeing aduised also by our graue Counsellors did condescend to a contract beetweene the Emperors sonne and our daughter.

Whereas moreouer hee admonisheth vs by his letter to recall the Archbishop of Canterbury (whom hee saith wee haue expulsed our kingdome) vnto the dignity from whence hee fell, and restore him againe vnto his Sea: wee apparantly knowe how euident it is vnto the eyes of yee all, that wee neither banished, nor yet inforced him to departe our dominions, but hee rather by the instigation of his owne light and peruerse disposition, then vpon any mature deliberation indueeing him thereunto, beetooke himselfe to flight with an intent and purpose to rayse enuy against vs, and (which the world witnesseth wee neuer deserued at his handes) malitiously to deprave and derogate from vs and our renowne: But if the sayd Archbishoppe as of his owne accord hee departed the land, soe of his owne free will would returne againe, and beare himselfe to vs in such sort as he ought to behaue himselfe to his Lord and king, wee then would likewise so deale with him as according to the counsell of our Clergie and Layetie, as well of our kingdome as our Prouinces beeyond the seas, should bee thought conuenient; but wee thinke it vnfitting to call him backe, whom wee neuer enforced to flye our dominions. Wherefore if it shall ap-

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peare to vs that wee haue any way offended or exceeded our boundes, wee will with the aduice of our Clergie and Barons according to the cuſtomes, dignityes and excellency of our kingdome willingly ſatisfy as wee are bound. But if any one will attempt to trouble or diminish the lawes, cuſtomes, and dignityes of our crowne, wee will eſteeme him the publicke aduerſary and open enemy of our name, honor and kingdome, and wee (ſo long as wee liue) will neuer endure the leaſt detriment to the dignityes and cuſtomes of our regality, which the renowned men our Predeceſſors haue held and inioyed in the raignes of the holy Popes of Rome.

Laſtly in that hee commanded yee to inſinuate vnto vs that wee should not afflict the Churches or Eccleſiaſticall perſons of our kindome or Prouinces, nor yet ſuffer them to bee afflicted; God and our Conſcience doe witnes that to this very day wee neuer did nor Permitted it to bee donne.

Hethetto the kinges Apologie to the Cardinalls.

But as the image of a foule deformed and horrible Monſter beeing ouercaſt with coulors may bee transformed into the showe of a moſt faire and chaſte Virgin, and not with ſtanding there lurketh vnderneath what to the eyes would bee dreadfull to beehould, yet outwardly it appeareth delectable: Soe shall yee playnly ſee his deteſtable crymes, with a deceytfull ſtyle transformed into vertues. But what eſtimation is to bee had of him, that which hath allready bin ſayd, and what heereafter shall bee written, will apparently declare. There are alſo other letters extant which paſſed this yeere in the cauſe of controuerſy beetwene the king of England and ſainct Thomas, beeing writings truly of great moment, and principaly that which Pope Alexander ſent to the Bishop of London, and is recyted by Roger in theſe words.

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Alexander Biſhop ſeruant of the ſeruantes of God to his reuerent brother Gilbert Biſhop of London ſendeth greeting with an Apoſtolicall Benediction.

In that you haue beeſtowed ſingular care and diligence about the buſines wee enioyned your brotherhood, and for that your haue faithfully ſollicited and effectually admoniſhed our moſt deare ſonne in Chriſt Henry the renowned king of England concerning the encreaſe and exaltation of the Church and vs; wee receaue the ſame as a thing moſt gratefull and acceptable, and thereupon rendring you abundance of thankes, wee doe for that cauſe highly commend and prayſe in our Lord your watchfull and endeauouring wiſedome. And beecauſe wee loue with a more intire charity this your king as a famous Prince, and our deareſt ſonne, therefore wee haue thought good often, yea very often to ſollicyte and excite him by all meanes to deuotion towards the Church, as well by your reuerent brethren the Archbiſhop of Roane and Biſhop of Hereforde, and alſo by our moſt deare daughter in Chriſt his mother, ſometymes the illuſtrous Empres of Rome: And now reioyce and are greatly comforted in our Lord for the godly zeale of the ſame king ſignifyed to vs by your letters.

But beecauſe wee would haue him as intirely affected to the Church of God and to vs, as in the beeginning hee was accuſtomed to bee; wee intreate, admonish, yea command your brotherhood that you will againe and againe both by your ſelfe and others carefully and diligently ſtirre vp, exhorte, and by all meanes perſwade him, to procure after his wonted manner with his beſt endeauors the honor and exaltation of the ſame Church, and foſter, maintaine and defend with all courage the cauſe thereof, that hee would loue and reuerence Churches and

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Ecclesiasticall persons, and conserue their rightes and franchises.

Likewise that hee would restore to his grace and fauour our reuerent brother the Archbishop of Canterbury; *and for our parte if hee yeeld to saincte Peeter and vs, the respect and honor which heeretofore hee hath done, wee will loue him with a most tender affection, and labour by all meanes (as beeseemeth vs) to magnify and aduance him, and preserue the kingdome committed to his charge: for wee had rather vanquish him with patience and mildnes, then any way agreeue him, soe long vs wee can possibly forbeare him.* Dated at Gradus Mercurii XI. Kalend. Septemb.

Thus wrote Alexander to the Bishop of London, who in this manner answered him.

To his father and Lord the most high Bishop Alexander, Brother Gilbert seruant of the Church of London sendeth his dutifull seruice of sincere charity and humble obedience.

Hauing receaued (most deere father in Christ) your commandement with dew reuerence, wee instantly heard that your sonne our most beeloued soueraigne Lord, was leading his army in the confines of France, and taking with vs our venerable Brother Robert Bishop of Hereford, according to your direction, with all attentiue dilligence wee treated with him, and laying beefore his eyes whatsoeuer you signifyed to vs by letter, partly entreating, and (as far as beecame subiects to the Maiestie of their king) also reproning, wee constantly and instantly perswaded him that hee would bee certifyed in all these pointes, and if hee had swarued from the path of reason, hee would returne to the way of truth and iustice, beeing called backe by your admonition delinered him by our

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mouth, and beeing piously aduertiſed by his father, hee abſolutly deſiſt from wicked actions, loue God with a pure harte, reſpect his Mother the holy Church of Rome with his wonted reuerence, and neuer forbid thoſe who were willing to viſit her, nor hinder appeales made vnto her, and reducing charitably from exile our father the Lord of Canterbury; hee would remayne conſtant and vnmoueable in the obedience of ſainct Peeter and your Holines, and wholy bent to the workes of deuotion, would not any way afflict Churches or Eccleſiaſticall perſons of his kingdome or dominions; nor ſuffer them to bee in any ſorte iniured by himſelfe or others, but with loue defend them vnder his royall protection: that hee by whom kinges doe raigne, may in this world proſper his temporal Dominion, and beeſtowe on him in heauen an eternall kingdome. Otherwiſe if hee obeyed not your godly and wholſome admonitions, your Holines who had hetherto with patience indured, could no longer contayne your ſelfe within the compaſſe thereof: Heereunto wee added, that hee was iuſtly to feare, leaſt if hee corrected not his offences, hee shoulde shortly incurre the wrath of Allmighty God through which his kingdome would not long continewe, nor his bee ſuffered to liue in proſperity, but that hee who exalteth the humble would throw downe with great ruine them (now exalted) from the heygth of their dominion.

But hee accepting moſt thankfully your fatherly correction, with a maruaylous temperate mynde and exceeding modeſty, did in order anſwer to euery particular: Affirming firſt hee neuer alienated his mynd any way from you, nor euer had the leaſt conceyte to that purpoſe; but as long as you shewed your fatherly fauour to him, hee would affect you as his father, and reuerense and tenderly loue the Church of Rome as his mother, and humbly obey and ſubmitt himſelfe to your ſacred beeheaſtes; reſeruing

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euer without impeachment the dignity of himselfe and his kingdome, & if now for a while past hee hath not respected you with due reuerence, hee alleageth for the reason thereof, that whereas in your necessityes hee did withall his harte, with all his mynd and his most ample power assist your Holines, you did not on the other side giue him correspondence answerable to his desertes, when as afterwardes, hee had by his Embassadors recourse vnto you in his necessityes, but with bushing complayneth that allmost in euery petition hee receaueth repulse at your handes, and yet beeing not withstanding all this confident of your fatherly grace, which at his pleasure will heare his sonne, hoping and expecting also from you a countenance more calme, hee remayneth with an immoueable constancy in the fidelity (as they call it) of saint Peeter and your selfe; whereupon it followeth, that hee will not any way hinder such as are willing to visite your Holines, neither (as hee assureth vs) hath hee hetherto bin their impediment.

Concerning Appeales, according to the ancient custome of his kingdome, hee challengeth to himselfe an honor and burden, that in cyuill causes none of the Clergie of the realme doe exceede the boundes of the land, vnles first by experience they trye whether by his royal authority and commandement, they may at home obtayne their right, which if they cannot there procure, then may they freely at their pleasures appeale to your holines without any restraint of his Maiestie, wherin if there bee the least preiudice to your lawes or honor, hee promiseth, by Gods assistance out of hand to reforme the same by the Counsell of the whole Church of his kingdome.

For the Emperour, allthough hee knoweth him to bee a Scismaticke, neuertheless that hee is excommunicated by your Holines, to this instant hee is ignorant, but if hee vnderstandeth him to bee soe once denounced, and then

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maketh any vnlawfull league with him or others, hee vndertaketh to reforme the ſame alſo by the iudgment and Councell of the Church of his kingdome.

Moreouer hee aſſureth vs that hee neuer banished out of his kingdome our father the Lord Canterbury; wherefore as hee departed of his owne accorde, ſoe ſhall hee bee freely permitted with all peace to returne to his Church, whenſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe him; allwayes prouided that in ſatisfaction to his Maieſtie hee will abſolutely conſerue thoſe dignityes, againſt which hee now complayneth, notwithſtanding hee was formerly ſworne to them.

Laſtly if any Church or Eccleſiaſticall perſon ſhall make proofe that they haue ſuſtayned any wrong by him or any of his, hee will bee euer ready according to the iudgment of the whole Church to giue ſatisfaction. Theſe are the anſwers wee haue receaued from our Lord the king, and wee wish wee could haue gott at his handes any thing more ample to haue ſatisfyed your pleaſure; but ſuch as they are, wee thought good to informe your Holines of them, to the end that out of his anſwers, your diſcretion may gather, what will bee the concluſion of this buſines: For our Lord the king ſeemeth much to iuſtify his cauſe, whilſt hee promiſeth in all thinges heere recited to ſubmit himſelfe to the counſell and iudgment of the Church of his kingdome, and no way at all to hinder (as beefore hath bin ſayd) the returne of our father the Lord of Canterbury: whereupon, wee thinke good, humbly to beeſeech your Holines, that ſetting the ſaying before your eyes: The bruſed reede hee ſhall not breake: and ſmoakeinge flax hee ſhall not quench: you would bee pleaſed for a tyme to confine within the boundes of modeſty that zeale which is worthely inkindled by the fire of the holy ghoſt, to reuenge all iniuryes offered to the Church of God, leaſt by pronouncing the ſentence of Interdiction, or that laſt iudgment

Iſai. 42.

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of excommunication, you suffer thereby the miserable ruine of innumerable Churches, and diuers without recouery as well the king himselfe, as infinite numers of men his followers (which God forbid) from your obedience. For it is better a lymme, bee it maymed, should yet remayne with the heade, then beeing cut off, bee cast away from the body; partes wounded may recouer to bee sounde againe, but beeing once seperated absolutely from the man, cannot returne to their former integrity; diuision breedeth desperation, whilst the labour of the skillfull surgeon cureth, often, a greiuous harte. If therefore it may please you, it is better you should at this instant imploy your trauell for healing this soare (if any bee) then by cutting of the nobleste parte of the Church of God to heape far greater troubles, yea more then can bee expressed on the state of Christendome beeing now in such a combustion. For what if your speech cannot as yet fully take, or bee taken, shall wee therefore despaire of the grace of God, beecause in an acceptable tyme it may both take, and bee taken? what? is the hand of our Lord shortned that it cannot saue? Or is his eare hardened that it cannot heare? For that swifte runing speech doth mightely (when it pleaseth) cleane change all things, and granteth to the prayers of the holy euẽ matters beeyõd expectation: The royal blood knoweth then beste to bee ouercome, when it hath ouercome, nor blusheth to yeeld, when it hath vanquished; in meekenes he is to bee mollifyed by admonishmentes, and conquered with patience. What if there ensueth a losse of some temporalityes, either through patience allready vsed, or as yet heereafter to bee practised? Ought wee not to sound a retreate to seuerity, whom otherwise a greate slaughter hangeth ouer the peoples heades? are not many thinges throwne out of the ship into the seas, when cloudes and waues confounded with stormes doe menace death? Isai 53.

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We speake fondly, but out of an vnfayned charity: Admitt this bee the end of the matter, that our Lord of Canterbury together with his losses doth also endure a continuall exile, and England (which God forbid) obeyeth no longer your commaund; it is neuertheless better for a while to forbeare with patience, then with soe greate a zeale to vnsheath the sword of seuerity. For what, albeeit persecution is not able to separate many of vs from your obedience, some neuertheless will not bee wanting to bowe their knees to Baal, and without respect of religion or iustice to receaue the Pall of Canterbury from the hand of an Idoll, nor yet will there fayle some who possessing our seates and vsurping our chaires, will with all the deuotion of their myndes obey him. Many there are who doe now foretaste this, wishing that scandalls would once arise, and playne ways bee peruerted to crooked pathes. Wherfore (father) wee doe not lament or bewayle our owne misfortunes; but vnles you preuent these mischeifes wee doe, forseeing, dread a foule subuersion to threaten and hang ouer the Church of God, neither sooner would wee wish a day of this loathed life to perish, then that wherin wee were borne to see such manner of spectacles. Allmighty God (deare father in Christ) preserue you long in health and prosperity.

And thus wrote the Bishop of London to Pope Alexander.

But Pope Alexander who sought by the Bishop of Londons meanes the kinges recouery, desired much more by his owne pastor saint Thomas to perfect the same, who neuer fayled of his office, and as at all tymes hee admonished him by his letters, soe now more amply in wryting hee thought good to perswade his king in manner following.

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To his beeloued Lord Henry by the grace of God King of England, Duke of Normãdy and Aquitayne and Earle of Anioue, Thomas by the same grace the humble seruant of the Church of Canterbury sometimes temporally his, but now much more, wisheth him in our Lord all true repentance with amendment. *Lib. 1. Epist. 65.*

Expecting wee haue expected that our Lord would looke vpon you, and that beeing conuerted you would doe penance departing from your peruerse wayes, and that you would cut off from you the wicked by whose suggestion and counsell (as it is tought) you are now fallen downe allmost into the depth; But God forbid it should bee into that depth whereof it is sayde: The sinner when hee commeth into the depth will contemne. *And although wee haue hetherto forborne in vayne, considering in silence and with all affection expectin; if any messinger would come, and reporting say, your sonne, king, and Lord beeing now long inuecagled with deceiptes, and drawne on to the Churches destruction, by the inspiration of the heauenly clemency in the abundance of exceeding humility hasteneth himselfe for the Churches deliuery, with making all satisfaction and amendes: Allthough there is yet no such thing, wee not withstanding will neuer cease with humble and daily deuotion to beeseech Allmighty God that what wee haue long and earnestly wished both of you, and for you, wee may with a speedy and fruitefull effect obtayne. And beehould thereupon it cõmeth to passe that the care of the Church of Canterbury, ouer whõ our Lord hath at this present placed our preistood though vnworthie, while you doe there rule the temporall estate, doth not see neerely touch vs in regard of our* *The Epistell of saint Thomas to King Henry.* *Prouerb. 18.*

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continued discommodious exile, as otherwise moue vs to direct to your Maiestie letters of admonition, exhortation and correction, that wee bee not to great a dissembler of your offences (if any there bee) which in verie deede are, beeing the ground of our no smale greife, those, yea cheefely those (wee say) which, concerne the Church of God and his Clergie, beeing diuers ways committed by you without regarde of person or dignity, and that wee appeare not theerin too negligent to the hazard of your soules saluation. For hee is doubtlesse guilty of the facte, who forbeareth to amend, what hee ought to correct: It is written: Not only they who doe, but those who consent are adiuged partakers of the crime; *And truly they consent, who when they may and ought, resist not, or at the least reproue not the offendor: for the error beeing not resisted is allowed, and truth beeing not defended is oppressed; neither auoydeth hee suspition of secret association, who forbeareth to withstand a manifest offence.*

The iurisdiction of the Preisthood distinguished from the iurisdiction of the kingdome.

For as (most excellent Prince) a small Citty, cannot lessen the prerogatiue of a potent kingdome, soe ought not your royal power to disturbe or alter the bounds of the Churches religious gouerment: It is euer consonant to the rules of iustice, that iudgment bee ministred to the preistes of God by a preistly councell. For Bishopps what soeuer they are, although as men they run astray, yet if they fall not from their faith, neither can nor ought they to bee censured by the secular power. It is the parte of a good and godly Prince to repaire ruinous and decayed Churches, to build them anew, to honor the preistes of God, and supporte them with all reuerence, like Constantine that vertuous Emperor of most famous memory, who sayd (when a cause of the Clergie was brought beefore him) yee ought not to bee iudged by any secular authority, who are only reserued to the iudgment of Allmighty God. And wee reade that the holy Apostles and their successors (whose

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power is warranted by the word of God himselfe) doe command: That no persecutions nor disturbances bee raised, nor yet that any should enuy them who labour in the feild of our Lord, nor that the stewardes of the eternall king should bee banished from their Seas.

For who maketh question but that Preistes are the Masters and fathers of kinges and all faithfull beeleiuers; and is it not then a point of miserable madnes, for the sonne to endeauour to bring his father into subiection, or the scholler his Master, and with vninst lawes to reduce him vnder his rule, who (as hee ought to beelieue) hath power to loose and bind him; not only in earth, but in heauen also: If you are a good and Catholike king, and soe will remayne (as wee beelieue and hope you will) let vs say vnder your Maiesties correction, you are a chylde and not a Bishop of the Church, and ought to learne of Preistes, and not to teach them; and in matters Ecclesiastical to follow them not to guyde them. You haue the priuiledges of your power which you haue obtayned from God for administring your temporall lawes, to the end that beeing not vngratefull to him for his benefitts, you should vsurpe nothing contrary to the disposition of his heauenly order, but that with a more sober mynde you should vse those things, which now rather perchance through the counsell of the malitious, then the inclination of your owne mynde you abuse against his ordinance: yeelde therefore speedely with all humility and all manner of satisfaction, least otherwise the hand of God beeing bent against you, shoote his arrowe at you, as at a marke: for the Allmighty hath bent his bowe to strike you openly with his arrowe, if you repent not.

Bee not ashamed (whatsoeuer the malignant suggest in your mynde, and the Traytors, not only to you, but also to God himselfe doe whispering murmer in your eares)

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to humble your selfe vnder the mighty hand of God; for it is hee who exalting the humble, throweth downe the prowde, who in reuenge for iniuryes offered to him and his, beereaueth Princes of their liues, beecause hee is terrible, and who can resiste him? You ought neuer to forget in what state God did first finde you, then how hee promoted, honored, exalted you, how hee blessed you with royal issue, confirmed the throne of your kingdome, and (in despight of all your enemyes) inriched you with ample possessions, in soe much as to this very houre all men with admiration pronounce. This is hee whom our Lord hath chosen; And what shall you yeeld, or what can you render for all these bountyes beestowed by him on you? Will you at their instinct and instance, who persecute aboute you the Church and Ecclesiastical persons, and haue euer to their power afflicted them, repay euill for good, with oppressions, tribulations, iniuryes, vexations to Churches, and their Cleargy? Are not these the persons of whom our Lord sayth: Who heareth you heareth mee, who contemneth you despiseth mee, who toucheth you, toucheth the aple of myne eye? If truly leauing all you possesse, you take vp your crosse and follow our Lord Iesus Christ, hardly shall you, yea neuer shall you bee found faithfull and gratefull enough to recompense these his benefitts receaued. Search out the Scriptures of such as knowe them and you shall finde, that Saul although chosen by our Lord, yet neuertheles beecause hee wandred
1. Reg. 15. 2. Paral. 20. from his wayes, was punished with the ouerthrowe of himselfe and his family. Ozias also king of Iuda, whose fame was spread both far and wyde, and was soe highly renowned for the many victoryes beestowed on him by our Lord, had to the downefall of his owne destruction his harte so puffed vp in regard that God did at all tymes assist and strengthen him, that contemning the reuerence due to our Lord, hee would needes vsurpe to himselfe a matter

matter no whit appertayning to his office, but only to the preisthoode, which was to offer incense on the altar of our Lord: and therefore was stricken by our Lord with a lepros, and by the handes of the preistes cast out from the temple of our Lord, and soe remayned till his dying day a foule Leper, in respect whereof hee was banished the house of Allmighty God. In like sorte many other kinges who mightely abounded in riches, beecause they walked aboue themselues in the maruelles of this world, presuming to rebell against our Lord, perished, and in the last gaspe found none of their riches, left in their handes. Moreouer king Azarias wrongfully intruding himselfe likewise into the preistly office, was punished with a leprosie. Lastly Oza (though not a king) but for touching the Arke of our Lord, and vphoulding it, beeing in danger to fall, by reason of the Oxens stumbling, yet beecause this appertayned not to his charge, but to the offices of the temple, beeing wounded by Gods indignation, fell headlong dead hard by the Arcke of our Lord A king (according to the common prouerbe) chastised by the misfortune of an other, looketh more narrowly to himselfe. Reg 15. 2. Reg 6.

For you are neere an euill turne
When as your neighbours house doth burne.

Allmighty God (most deere soueraigne) would, that thinges appertayning to the disposition of the Church, should beelong to preistes and not to secular powers, who if they bee Christians, his deuine pleasure is they should bee subiectes vnto the preistes of his Church: Challenge not therefore to your selfe an others office, or right, neither rayse contention against him, by whom all thinges are ordayned, for feare least yee seeme to fight against the benefits of him, from whom you receiue your authority. It is not the will of Allmighty God that the Clergie of the

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Chriſtian religion ſhould bee either ordered or cenſured by publicke lawes or ſecular Princes, but by Biſhopps and prieſtes: Chriſtian kinges ought to ſubmitt the excecution of their deſignes to Eccleſiaſticall Paſtors, and not preferre their cuſtomes, beefore them. For it is written that none ought to pronounce iudgment againſt prieſtes, but the Church, nor doth it beelong to temporall lawes to giue ſentence ouer ſuch. Chriſtian Princes were wont to obey the Canons of the Church, and not to ouerpoyſe with their power Eccleſiaſticall Conſtitutions: to humble their crowned heades vntotheir Biſhoppes, not to determyne ouer their Biſhoppes; for two ſtates there are, in which doth principally conſiſt this worlds gouerment, the Biſhoppes ſacred authority, and the kingly power, wherein the worthynes of preiſthood is of farr greater weyght, beecauſe they muſt in the day of iudgment render an accompt of kinges themſelues. Yee ought truly to knowe, that yee are bound to depend on their iudgmentes, and not to haue them reduced to your wills. For many Biſhoppes haue excommunicated ſome kinges, others Emperors, and if you would knowe any particulers concerning the perſons of theſe Princes: Innocentius excommunicated the Emperor Arcadius *beecauſe hee conſented to haue ſaint* Iohn Chriſoſtome *baniſhed out of his Sea. Saint* Ambroſe *for one fault, which in the eyes of other prieſtes appeared not ſo heynous, excommunicated and caſt out of the Church the Emperor* Theodoſius *the great, who hauing made condigne ſatisfaction obtayned abſolution. And many o-*
2. Reg. 12. *thers ſuch like are to this purpoſe. Dauid alſo hauing committed adultery and murder,* Nathan *the Prophet was ſent to him by God to reproue and correct him; admoniſhed hee was, and ſoone amended, for the king, laying aſyde his röyall Diadem, and caſting away his Imperiall Maieſty, was not aſhamed to humble himſelfe beefare the face of the Prophet, to confeſſe his ſynne and crane pardon*

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for his offence; what shall I say more? conducted by pennance, hee beesought mercy, and obtayned forgiuenes: Bee it so with you (ô deerest beeloued sonne, most renowned king, most honored Lord) according to the example of most excellent Dauid, that most godly king, of whom our Lord sayd: I haue found a man according to myne owne harte. *Bee you in like soree with a contrite and humble hart conuerted to our Lord God, and doe seuere pennance for your sundry excesses: for you haue fallē downe headlong and erred in many thinges which as yet I conceale, expecting, if soe bee it our Lord will inspire you, so as you may say with the Prophet:* Haue mercy on mee (ô God) according to thy great mercy, beecause I haue much offended thee, and committed sin in thy sight; for God is at hand to them who are righteous of harte, and will saue the humble in spiritt. 1. Reg. 13. *Psal.* 24. 50 *Psalm.* 33.

Thus for this tyme (my Lord) I write vnto you, suppressing the rest in silence; vntill I see whether my speech may fasten on you, and bring forth of you fruites worthy of pennance, that I may heare by the reporte of others, and congratulate with them who shall tell mee; your sonne and king was dead but is reuiued; was lost, but is found againe. If soe bee that you will not heare mee who was accustomed to pray for you with abundance of teares and exceeding sighes beefore the Maiestie of the body of Christ; I will assuredly in the same place cry out against you and say: Aryse (ô Lord) adiudge thy cause, call to mynde the scornes and iniuryes which are all day long offered by the king of England and his to thee and thyne, forget not the reproches of thy Church which thou hast founded with thy blood; reuenge (ô Lord) the blood of thy seruantes afflictions which are beeyond number, infinite; the pryde of these who hate and persecute thee and thyne, ascendeth soe high, as wee cannot longer indure them. My Lord and king, what soeuer your followers haue commit-

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ted, will all bee required at your hands; for hee apparantly hath donne the iniury who hath giuen occaſion of doeing the iniury: Aſſuredly vnles you reſtrayne your handes from diſturbing the people, the ſonne of the Allmighty himſelfe will vppon the ſighes of the fettered, vpon the ſighes of thoſe who crye out to him, come in the rod of his fury, beecauſe the tyme is now at hand, to iudge againſt you iuſtice in equity, and in the ſeuerity of his ſpirit: for hee knoweth how to take away the ſpirit of Princes, and is terrible among the kinges of the earth: wee ſpeake not thus vnto you to cõfound your face, or prouoke you to farther indignation, and anger, as perchance the malitious, (who ſwarme about you, and lye in wayte day and night for our deſtruction, indeauoring to alienate your mynde from vs) will with their wicked and vniuſt ſuggeſtions whiſpering, murmur againſt vs: Giue them (ô God) according to their workes, and according to the naughtines of their inuentions; but that wee may make you more cautious and wary in the prouiſion and care of your ſoule, and cauſe you to auoyd the danger, that is euen now inſtantly at hand, and beecauſe it is our eſpeciall charge to bee watchfull ouer your ſoule, in regarde the care and gouerment thereof is committed to vs, as the king whereof wee muſt render an accompt in the dreadfull day of iudgment. Incline thereunto a willing eare, and vſe our ſeruice as it ſhall pleaſe you, ſoe long vs wee offend not Allmighty God, nor deale with wicked diſſimulation to the ouerthowe of your ſoule and ours; for what will it boote you to gaine the whole world with the danger of your ſaluation? Conſider with your ſelfe what is beecome of the Emperors, what of the kinges and other Princes, what of the Archbiſhopps and Biſhoppes our ancient predeceſſours? They laboured in their dayes, and others haue ſucceeded in their trauailles: what more? Soe vaniſheth the world and his glory. Remember therefore your laſt,

Eccleſ. 7.

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and you shall not sinne eternally, and moreouer if you haue offended you will then doe pennance. God send you deerely beeloued grace well to fare, if in true humility and speedy pennance you will bee conuerted to our Lord God Allmighty. Soe fare you well againe and euer. Thus saint Thomas.

Hee directed also other letters to the Bishoppes concerning the Hierarchicall order and vnity of the Catholicke Church, which beegin in this sorte.

THOMAS BY THE GRACE OF GOD, the humble seruant of the Church of Canterbury, to all his reuerend brethren the Bishoppes of the Prouince of Canterbury sendeth greeting.

Codi. Vat. lib. 1. Epist. 97. The Epistol. of S. Thomas to the Bishoppes of of England.

IF wee haue à care to liue as wee ought. (*And within a fewe wordes after.*) *Now concerning the visible vnity of the Catholicke Church vnder one head; In the beeginning of the Primitiue Church* (*as the blessed Apostle teacheth*) *Christ ascending into heauen, that hee might fullfill all, made truly some Apostles, some Prophetts, others Euangelistes, others Pastors and Masters, for the instruction of Saintes, for the worke of ministry, for the buylding of the body of Christ; neither yet were all offices to bee committed to one, but euery member was to bee endowed with his proper offices; and yet neuertheless in that sorte, as the head, in whom as in a castle or certaine Capitoll all the senses of vertues are assembled together, may prouyde for all and euery particular; and all on the other syde may obey the head according to their seuerall conditions. The Doctor of the Gentills, who gloryeth that hee learned not the Gospell either of man, or by man, but was instructed by Christ, went vp to Ierusalem and conferred with the Prince of the Churches concerning mat-* Call. 1.

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ters of fayth least hee should run or had run in vayne. And Gen. 2.
as it appeareth by many examples, all fluddes of the Gospell returne to the sea, from whence they had their originall, to the end they may flowe againe, for the fountaine of Paradise is one, but deuided into many riuers, that thereby it may on all sydes water the earth. Who doubteth the Church of Rome to be the head of all Churches, and fountayne of Catholicke doctrine? Who is ignorant that the keyes of the kingdome of heauen were deliuered to Peeter? Doth not the frame of the whole Church aryse on the fayth and Doctrine of Peeter, vntill wee doe all meete beefore Christ in a perfect man, in the vnity of fayth, and acknowledgment of the sonne of God? (And afterwardes.) But whosoeuer hee bee that watereth or planteth, God giueth encrease to none, but him, who hath planted on the fayth of Peeter, and humbleth himselfe vnto his doctrine. To him truly are referred the iudgmentes of the people which are of greatest importance, to bee examined by the Pope of Rome, and the Magistrates subordinate to him in the Courtes of the Church, that they who are assistantes in partaking the care, may exercise the power committed to their charge; soe as the priest when hee cannot determine a matter incident to the flocke of his parish, may referre the same to his Bishop, who submitteth things surmounting his reach also to the Archbishop or Metropolitane, from whom whatsoeuer is of greatest importance, is referred vnto the high Bishop of Rome. This order hath Peeter taught vs, and the same hath the Catholicke Church obserued vnto this day, neither by Gods grace shall is euer bee ouerthrowne whatsoeuer iniquity attempteth against it.

Neuertheless in the kingdome of England (which I cannot without exceeding greefe recall to mynd, nor without teares declare) they presume wonderfully against Peeter. The authority of the Apostolicke Sea (as much as

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lyeth in peruerse Potentates) is extenuated and indangered, whyle they who of necessity are compelled for performing their pennance or procuring the commodity of their soules, or otherwise in the duty of visitation to trauell ouer to our Lord the Pope, are hindred in their iourney, spoyled, hardly handled, and forbidden to passe the seas either by those who seeke out occasions to committ mischeefes, or by others who are compelled to take oathes for restrayning Clearkes and Penitents in this sayd iourney. And therefore in regard they lay violent handes on the Clergie, they incurre by their owne acte the condemnation of accursing; which is the reason that wee vsing the authority of the Church of Rome, doe command your brotherhood, charging yee by the Apostolicke power in the vertue of obedience, and vpon the perill and hazard of your order that yee denounce them publickly excommunicate, and cause them soe to bee declared throughout your Dioceses, who lay violent handes on the Clergie: and that yee command your neighbouring Bishoppes by the authority of our Lord the Pope and also of vs to performe the same likewise in thier Bishopprickes.

Moreouer in the same manner, and vnder the same payne wee command yee to denounce to such as hinder Appellantes or Penitents from trauailing to our Lord the Pope or vs, that they incurre the sentence of accursing, as well as they who doe it in proper person, as also the kinges officers who constrayne others to this heynous offence. And for such as beeing enforced thereunto, haue taken vnlawfull oathes to hinder these aforesayd passengers, wee absolue them from their oathes, whereby they may hereafter desist from soe greate a sinne, and beeing penitent for their offence, learne rather to obey God then man. If any one in seeking to right his Church, and conserue the integrity of his faith to the Apostolieke Sea, dreadeth ensuing discommodityes, let him remember how the Church

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with far more safety and profitt purchaseth vertue, then temporall treasures, and that Christ who raigneth ouer the Church of Rome restrayneth the powers of his aduersaryes, and hee who shall punish the mighty mightely, will chastise likewise all disobedience, not only bringing the poore to iugdment, but also humbling the glorious of this world to the ministry of the Church, against which the very gates of hell shall not preuayle.

Bee ashamed (most deerely beeloued) to put in practise vniust iudgmentes, in such sorte as the peeres of the kingdome insulting vpbrayd yee saying: If a poore man committeth a light offence, hee is presently excommunicated by yee and your officers, but if a rich person transgresseth, hee is not so much as with a word chastised; whereby scandalls may on euery syde bee reported on such iudges. And can greate powers against the poore soe rage? Looke therefore to your selues and your Churches, least if yee dissemble the iniuryes of the Romane Church, yee may bee iustly thought to conspire with the impious against her, and to haue forestalled the wayes of those who walked, that yee might raise your commodityes vpon the Churches losse. Remember rather how our fathers atchiued saluation; by what meanes, and how great tribulations the Church hath encreased, and bin dilated, what huge stormes the ship of Peeter hath escaped, hauing Christ for her Pilot. Thus did saint Thomas write to his Clergy.

ANNO DOM. 1167.

Now beeginneth the yeere of our redemption 1167. with the xv. Indiction; when Pope Alexander vnderstanding as well by the letters of the king of England, as also from others beeing Bishoppes the Suffraganes of saint Thomas, that was persecuted by them, and his most worthy proceedinges condemned

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as hideous offences, to the end hee might rayse him aboue his aduersarys, and humble them to his obedience, hee ordayned a king most worthie of prayse, which was to make the holy Archbishop with most ample authority Legate of the Apostolicke Sea. The Popes letters are yet extant indighted for that purpose in these wordes.

Alexander seruante of the seruantes of God to this beeloued brother Thomas Archbishoppe of Canterbury sendeth greeting and his Apostolicall blessing.

Saint Thomas made Legate à latere ouer all England, excepting only the Prouince of Yorke.

The most holy Church of Rome hath bin euer accustomed to embrace with greater charity, and prefer in glory and honor, persons of eminent worth, and them especially whom she knoweeh to bee most renowned for honesty, wisedome, lerning, and excellency of vertues: Considering therefore the constancy of your deuotion and faith, wherin you haue persisted as an vnmoueable pillar for the Church of God, and weighing withall the singular prudence, of your integrity, lerning, and discretion, wherin you are knowne to surpasse others, wee thought it worthie to loue and honor with a certaine peculiar priuiledge and more excellent prerogatiue your person soe adorned with the insignes of such high vertues, and with our vsuall bounty to prouide, and with a more tender care to procure your good and commodity. This is the cause that with our louing fauor wee grant and beestowe on you the Legantine authority ouer all England (excepting only the Archbishoppricke of Yorke) to the end that within your iurisdiction in our place and authority, you correct what you find worthie amendment, and that to the honor of God, and of the holy Church of Rome, and for the saluation of soules you doe constitute, buyld, and plant, whatsoeuer is to bee setled and planted: wherefore wee

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admonish, yea wee command your brotherhood that you diſpoſe all thinges, extirpate vices and plante vertues in our Lordes vnyeard with that prudence and diſcretion, which Allmighty God hath beeſtowed on you. Dated at Auigni *on the ſeauenth of the Ides of October.*

Heereunto were alſo added other letters of Pope Alexanders, beeing written for the ſame purpoſe to the Clergy of the Prouince of Canterbury: And others likewiſe for gathering of ſaint Peeters Pence which the king had beefore (as wee ſee) forbidden; all which were caryd into England and receaued by the Bishop of London, who certifyed the king of all, wryting in this ſorte vnto him.

Lib. 1. Epiſt. 116.

Lib. 1. Epiſt. 131.

To Henry King of England, Gylbert Bishop of London.

The Bishop of Londons letter to king Henry concerning the Popes Mandates.

So lige a weyght of commandementes doth (my Lord) at this tyme oppreſſe vs, ſoe great an authority beeſeegeth vs, as cõpelled by extreame neceſsity, wee are enforced to beeſeech counſell and with all aſsiſtance from your Maieſtie: for what the Apoſtollicall authority commandeth, cannot with Appeale bee ſuſpended, neither can there bee any remedy againſt his Mandate, ſince wee muſt needes fullfill his precept, or incurre the offence of diſobedience. For beeing on ſaint Pules day in London at the Altar, wee receaued from the handes of a certaine Meſsinger, altogether vnknowne to vs, our Lord the Popes letters, whereby was graunted, and by authority confirmed vnto the Lord of Canterbury the Legantyne power ouer all England, excepting only the Archbishoppricke of Yorke: Moreouer all wee the Bishops of the kingdome were by the ſame authority inioyned with all humility to obey him as the Legate of the Apoſtolicall Sea; and at his calling without any contradiction to aſſemble our ſelues together, to yeelde him an accompt of all thinges appertayning

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to our office, and absolutely vndertake to obserue, whatsoeuer hee shall decree; and lastly, that wee shall enforce all who by your commandement haue receaued the reuenues and goodes of the Clearkes beelonging to the Archbishop, in their absence to make full restitution and satisfaction to the owners within two monthes, otherwise to bee denounced accursed without any appeale at all to the contrary. Wee are beesides required to gather of our brethren the Bishoppes saint Peeters pence, and to deliuer the same sealed vp to such Messingers as shall bee designed for that purpose. And withall commanded to send or deliuer the letters of the sayd Legantyne authority together with the letters of the Archbishop to sundry Bishoppes according to their seuerall directions, and not to omitt this, vnder payne of infringing the integrity of our state and order. S. Peeters pennyes.

Prostrate therefore in harte wee humbly beeseeche at the feete of your Maiestie that you will not, in regard of the weighty affaires beelonging to the charge of your kingdome neglect to consyder of vs, but to prouide out of your princely piety soe for vs, as wee bee not to our eternall infamy throwne from all to nothing, which you may conueniently doe, if you condescend by your leaue to obey the Apostolicke commandementes, and restoring saint Peeters pence, and through your mercy, the Clearkes to their owne. You command all the Bishoppes, that if they can finde any thing in the Archbishoppes letters to make against the customes of the kingdome, they presently with all confidence appeale vnto the Popes holines or his Legates which are directed vnto vs; soe shall you doe, a worke of mercy, preserue vs from the guilt of disobedience, and by the common appeale of all, defend our cause from receauing any detriment. Our Lord instruct you to doe his will, and redeeme vs out of the streightes wherin wee are at this instant plunged. Farwell most beeloued Lord in

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Chriſt. And thus London painting the wall without temperature, whilſt with the remedy of appeale, and not abſolute obedience, hee counſelled the king to redreſſe this matter.

S. Thomas executeth his Legatyne authority.

But *Thomas* now ſtrengthened with the moſt ample power of the Apoſtolicall Legation, ſetting aſyde delay, falled downe what was to bee cult and corrected, plucked vp the baſtard plantes, which had now beeyond all right and reaſon taken deepe rootes, and beeing made a fanne in the hand of our Lord, vndertooke with his greate labour to ſeperate the chaffe from the corne, finding in al things not only the kinge himſelfe, but alſo the Bishoppes his moſt bitter aduerſaries, whom neither by benefitts nor admonitions hee could euer bring to better paſſe, but indured them ſtill as the moſt vile deprauers of his actions to the king. Yet that hee may not appeare negligent in his office, hee awaked the ſlougthfull, reſtrained the wanderers, and thoſe whom hee found in regarde of their abhominable crymes altogether vnworthie hee cut them of from the communion of the Catholike Church, as rotten members from a ſound body: All which is ſignifyed by the letters hee wrote this preſent yeere out of Ftance into England to the Bishops ſubiect to his charge, which beeing recorded among other his Epiſtells, are to bee read in this ſorte.

Codi Vat. lib. 1. Epiſt. 96.

Thomas by the grace of God the humble ſeruante of the Church of Canterbury, to his reuerent brethren the Bishop of London and other Bishoppes of the whole Prouince of Canterbury wisheth ſoe to paſſe through temporall felicity, as they looſe not eternall.

My moſt beeloued Bretthren, why riſe yee not with mee

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against the malicious? Why stād yee not with mee against the workes of iniquity? Are yee ignorant that our Lord will disperse the bones of them who please men? They shall bee confounded, beecause our Lord hath despised them. Your discretion sufficiently vnderstandeth, that an error not resisted, is approued: and truth not defended, is oppressed: And by the testimony of saint Gregory, hee seemeth to consent to the erronious, who essayeth not to reformewhat is to bee amended. *Heereby is apparant, that wee haue too long, and too much forborne the king of England, nor yet hath the Church of God reaped any commodity by this our enduring. It seemeth dangerous and intollerable for vs to leaue any longer vnpunished (hetherto wee haue done) soe greate excesses of him and his officers against the Church of God and Ecclesiasticall persons, especially since wee haue very often endeauored by messangers, letters, and all manner of meanes (as beecame vs) to recall him from his peruerse purpose. Beecause therefore hee will hardly afforde vs the hearing, and much lesse attentiuely listen vnto vs, wee haue with inuocation of the grace of the holy ghoste publickly condemned and declared as voyd that deede of wryting together with the authority of that indenture wherin are contayned, not custames, but rather those wicked deuices, by which the Church of England is disturbed and confounded, and haue also excommunicated all the obseruers, exactors, counsellors, assistantes, and defenders of the same; and doe absolue by the authority of God and vs, all yee Bishoppes from that promise, whereby yee were bound, contrary to the constitution of the Church for the obseruation of them.*

S. Thomas by his Epistel correcteth the Bishops of his Prouince.

Psalm. 52.

For who can make doubt, but that the Preistes of Christ should bee esteemed the fathers and Maisters of kinges, Princes, and all faithfull beeleeuers. Is it not a miserable madnes if the sonne should endeauour to bring the father,

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or the scholler the Master vnder his subiection, and with vnlawfull handes to subdue vnto his will the partie by whom his faith telleth him that not only in earth but also in heauen hee may bee tyed and loosed? wherefore that yee may not fall into the lapse of this sentence, wee haue adiudged voyd the authority of this obligation, and the schedule it selfe with all the enormityes contayned therein, and haue especially declared it of no force in these thinges ensuing.

1. That no man shall appeale to the Apostolike Sea, vpon any cause, without the kinges licence.

2. That it shall not bee lawfull for an Archbishop or Bishop to departe out of the kingdome, and come at the calling of our Lord the Pope without our Lord the kinges licence.

3. That it shall not bee lawfull for à Bishop to excommunicare any one houlding of the kinge in cheyfe without the kinges licence, or to interdict his land, or the landes of his Officers.

4. That it shall not bee lawfaull for a Bishop to punish any one for periury, or profaning his faith.

5. That Clearkes shall bee bounde to bee tryed beefore secular Tribunalles.

6. That the Layety, or kinge, or any others shall handle causes beelõging to the Church, or Tythes, or others of like nature.

Wee denounce also as excommunicate, and haue excommunicated by name Iohn de

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Oxeforde, who hath fallen into a damnable hereſie, by making oathe to the Scyſmaticks, whereby the ſcyſme allmoſt extinguished in Almayne, reuiued againe, alſo by communicating with that infamous *Scyſmatick Reynold, Archbishop of Colen*, and laſtly beecauſe againſt the commandement of our Lord the Pope and vs, hee vſurped to himſelfe the Deanry of the Church of Salisbury, which acte as contrary to law, and à pernicious example to the Church of God, wee haue condemned and declared as voyde, commanding the Bishop of Salisbury, and his Chapter in the vertue of obedience, and perill of their order, that vpon ſight of our letters they neuer heereafter for that reaſon repute him Deane.

Wee hane likewiſe denounced excommunite and haue excommunicated Richard de Iuceſter for his fall into the ſame damned hereſie for communicating with Reynold the Scyſmaticke of Colen, and for deuiſing and practiſing all miſcheefes by combining with the Scyſmatickes and thoſe Allmaynes to the ouerthrowe of God and his Church, and eſpecially the Church of Rome, and by contracting couenantes beetweene our Lord the King and them.

Wee haue in like ſorte excommunicated Richard de Lucy and Ioceline de Baliol, who

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haue bin the authors and framers of those wicked deuises, and Raynulph de Broc who possessed, and with houldeth the goods of the Church of Canterbury which are by right the almes of the poore, and hath apprehended our followers as well of the Clergy as Layety, and detayneth them prisoners.

Wee excommunicate moreouer Hugh de Clare and Thomas Fitz-Bernard who haue also seized on the goods and possessions of the Church of Canterbury without our conniuence, and as yet with hould the same. wee haue lastly inuolued in this sentence of excommunication all such as shall heereafter lay violent handes without our will and consent on the possessions and goodes of the Church of Canterbury. Afterwardes hee inserteth the decrees of the Bishoppes of Rome, wherein such as these are sayde to bee condemned for excommunicate, and wherby the sentence pronounced by him is approued. All which beeing rehearsed hee addeth thus. And wee inioyne you (Brother and Bishop of London) in the vertue of obedience, that presently you manifest and shew these our letters to all our reuerent brethren and associate Bishoppes of our Prouince. Farewell in Christ, and instantly pray for vs.

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Thus wrote hee to London and other Bishoppes of his Prouince. Saint Thomas did also certify the Archbishop of Rome, of this excommunication soe denounced. Beesides hee sent a letter to Pope Alexander of the same subiecte, beeseeching him to confirme the sentence which hee had published against them: Also to Hyacinth and Henry of Pysa Cardinalles. And other letters are extant which were directed to the Bishop of London, and the like to the Chapter there. And to the same effect did hee write to Robert Bishop of Hereforde concerning this excommunication, which Roger recyteth in the Annalls of England the yeere following: But the letters to Pope Alexander for excommunicating the king of England are thus indighted.

To his most deerely beeloued Father Alexander by the grace of God high Bishop, Thomas the humble seruant of the Church of Canterbury sendeth his dewe and deuoute obedience.

Long and ouerlong haue I endured (most beloued father) expecting the reformation of the King of England, nor reaped any fruite at all of my patience; but rather exceedingly encreased the losse and vtter ouerthrowe of the authority and liberty of the Church of God, while I haue thus vnaduisedly forborne. Often haue I admonished him by religious and conuenient messingers, and many tymes inuited him to make due satisfaction; I haue also made knowne to him by letters (the coppyes whereof I haue sent to your halines) the diuine and seuere iustice and reuenge of God vnlesse hee amended his life: But hee neuertheless waxed still worser and worser, treading more vnder foote and depressing the Church of God, and continning his persecution against my selfe and those exi-

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led with mee in such sorte as hee attempteth by threates and terrours to beereaue of their benefittes and cõmodityes the seruantes of the Allmighty, who for Gods sake and yours prouyde vs sustentation: For hee did wryte to the Abbot of the Cistercians, that as hee tendred the Abbeyes of his order which were within his dominions, hee should banish vs from all benefitt and society of his sayd order. What neede I more wordes? The hard and cruell dealinges of the kinge and his officers haue encreased to that heygth by our endurance, as by reporte of religious men, who, if it pleaseth your holines, shall affirme the same by oathe, shall bee in order deliuered vnto you. And I wonder if your holines will giue credit to soe strange a thing soe constantly declared. Considering therefore in great streightes and grefe of mynde, and weyghing the danger as well of the king, as of your holines, I publicky condemned those pernitious not customes, but subtell deceyptes and wicked deuises, by which the Church of England is disturbed and confounded together with the instrument it selfe and the authority of the obligation, the ground of their confirmation: And did generally excommunicate as well the obseruers as the Exactors, together with the Patrons, fauorers, counsellors, and abettors of the same of what estate soeuer they were, either of the Clergie or Layety. And absolued our Bishops from that oathe, whereby they were violently bounde to the obseruation of them. And these are the thinges which in that wryting or obligation I haue especially condemned.

1. That they shall not appeale to the Apostolicke Sea, without the kings licence.

2. That it shall not bee lawfull for Bishops to question any man of periury or violating his faith.

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3. That it shall not bee lawefull for a Bishop to excommunicate any man houlding of the king in cheife, or to inderdict his land, or the landes of his officers without the kinges licence.

4. That Clearkes or Religious men bee drawne to the secular Iudgments.

5. That the Layety, the king, or any others handle causes concerning the Church or tythes.

6. That it shall not bee lawfull for an Archbishop or Bishop to departe the lād and come at the calling of our Lord the Pope without the kinges licence.

With others of this fashion. And namely I haue excommunicated Iohn de Oxeforde. who communicated with that excommunicated Scysmaticke Reynold of Colen, and contrary to the commandment of your holines, and vs, vsurped the Dearny of the Church of Salisbury, and made oath in the Emperors courte for renuing the Scysme. Wee haue also denounced for excommunicate Richard de Iuecester, becausse hee fell into the same condemned heresy by communicating with that infamous Scismatick of Colen, deuysing and contriuing all mischeises with the Scismatick and those Allmaynes to the destruction of the Church of God,

The names of the excommunicated.

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eſpecially of the Roman Church, by meanes of couenantes contracted beetweene the king of England and them. Wee haue pronounced likewiſe the ſame ſentence on Richard de Lucy and Iocelin de Baliol, who were fauorers of the kinges tyrany, and framers of thoſe hereticall offences, with Raynulph de Broc, Hugh de ſainct Clare and Thomas Fitz-Bernard, who vſurped without our licence and conſent the poſſeſſions and goodes of the Church of Canterbury; and laſtly wee haue excommunicated all who contrary to our will and aſſent lay handes on the poſſeſſions and goods of the Church of Canterbury. Concerning the king himſelfe, wee haue not as yet perſonally excommunicated him, expecting awhile his amendment, whom neuertheleſſe wee will not forbeare to excommunicate, vnleshee ſpeedely reforme himſelfe, and receaue diſcipline for theſe his diſorders. To the end therefore (moſt bleſſed father) the authority of the Apoſtolicke Sea, and liberty of the Church of God, which in our partes are allmoſt wholy perished, may howſoeuer bee againe able to bee reſtored, it is neceſſary, and by all meanes expedient, that what wee haue do. . , may by you bee abſolutely ratifyed, and with your letters confirmed. And ſoe wee wish your Holines long to proſper and flourish.

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The reason why saint Thomas did not excommunicate the king, which hee was prepared now to doe, and was of the king soe much feared, is thus declared by Iohn of Salisbury in his Epistle to the Bishop of Exceter. Hauing lately assembled to a counsell at Chynon, his peeres and familiars, who are knowne to haue the sleyght and practise for contriuing mischeefes, and are wise to deuise and effecte wickednes, hee carefuly inquired many wayes with forerunning threates & protestations, what were best to bee aduised to preiudice the Church, greeuously complayning not without groanes, and many sighes, yea very teares (as the standers by reported) of the Archbishop of Canterbury, saying that Canterbury would depriue him both of body and soule; in the end hee affirmed. they were all traytors who would not with their vttermost endeauors and diligence seeke to deliuer him from the molestation of this one man. Heereupō my Lord of Roane was somewhat moued in regard of these wordes, reprouing him, but mildy according to his fashion, in the spiritt of lenity; whereas the cause of Allmighty God required rather the spirit of seuerity ād the authority of à Bishop to bee applyed to his wound, who languisheth both in reason and in faith; for the greife was the greater, by the pressure of the feare conceaued out of the letters written by Canterbury to him and his mother (the coppies whereof are sent you) for hee feard, and not without cause, least by the authority and commandement of the Popes holines, the sentence of Interdiction should bee instantly pronounced against his land, and the like of Accursing against his person: Caught therfore in these streyghtes, the Bishop of Lexouin sayd there remayned one remedy, which was to stay this sen-

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tence (now ready to ſtrike him) with the barre of Appeale.

So I knowe not how (but that truth the more it is reſiſted the more it excelleth: and iuſtice the more reſiſted the more preuayleth) While the king endeauored by his ancient cuſtomes to ouerthrowe Appeales added greater ſtrength vnto them, beeing himſelfe for his owne ſafegard conſtrayned to flye to the refuge of Appeales.

And therefore from this Parliament, as from the face of God and their king, were diſpatched in all haſte the Bishop of Lexouine and likewiſe Sagien to the often named Lord of Canterbury to the end that by the interpoſition of an Appeale they might ſuſpend the ſentence vntill the Octaues of Eaſter. The Archbishop of Roane vndertooke this iorney alſo with them, not as an Appealant (as hee profeſſed) but as mediator for peace, a thing hee much deſired. But our Archbishop beeing euen now in hand to deliuer this ſentence, trauelled to the citty of Sweſſon, to the end hee might there commend the care of this controuerſy by prayers to our Bleſſed lady (whoſe memory is there renowned) to ſaint Drauſius, vnto whom men in their fightes haue refuge, and to ſaint Gregory the Apoſtle of the Church of England who lyeth in the ſame towne intombed; ſaint Drauſius is a moſt glorious Confeſſor, who (as they of France and Loraigne beelieue) maketh the Champions that watch and pray all night at his reliques inuincible, ſoe as both out of Burgundy and Italy men in ſuch neceſſityes haue recourſe vnto him: For Robert de Mount-forte beeing to incounter with Henry of Eſſex, vſed there the ſame deuotion; wherefore by this chance, through the worke of Allmighty God, was made fruſtrate the diligent exployte of theſe king-pleaſing Bishoppes, bee-

The Pilgrimage of S. Thomas to Swiſſon.

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cause comming to Pontiniake they found not the Archbishop whom they should appeale, but deluded of their purpose, they returned with complaynte that they beestowed their money and trauell, and profited nothing.

The Archbishop hauing watched three days & nightes before the reliques of these Saintes, the morrow after the Ascension hastened his iornney towardes Vizelliac to the end that there hee might on Whitsonday proceede to the sentence of Accursing against the king and his adherents. But by the prouidence of God it hapned beeing in the Church at Regitane the fryday before the same feast, it was reported to him as a thing most certayne, that the king of England was taken with a desperate sicknes, soe as hee could not come to a Parlee with the king of France, beeing a matter hee greatly desired and deerely purchased, but was enforced to send Richard de Poyters, and Richard de Humec to make his excuse, who proferd by oath to auerre this the cause of his absence: by reason therefore of this, beeing deliuered to the Archbishop by a Messinger from the king of France, hee deferred the denouncing of this sentence against the king. Thus far Iohn of Salusbury concerning the delay of this sentence against the king. Then hee proceedeth to speake of the excommunication of them, whom wee reade to bee specifyed by name in the letters to the Bishoppe of London, and of the accursed customes there condemned by him, and how with other letters yet againe hee sent his last and peremptory admonition vnto the king.

But for the king (sayth Salisbury) whom hee had beefore as well by letters as Messingers, with respect of his regality, according to the customes of the Church, inuited to satisfaction; hee summoned him

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now with a publick citation to the fruites of pennance, threatening hee would shortly pronounce against him the sentence of excommunication, vnles hee reformed his abuses, and made satisfaction for these soe greate and wicked attempts against the Church; which neuertheles hee would not doe, but by constraynte against his will: neither was any of his seruantes inclyning to bee the Messinger of his sentence as yet suspended saint Thomas in his Epistle to Pope Alexander writeth thus.

Cod. Vat. lib 1. Epist. 138. *Wee haue not yet pronounced our sentence on the kings person, but it may bee wee will doe it, vnles hee conuerteth his errors, and vpon these our admonitions embraceth discipline.* Thus much saint Thomas.

Cod. Vat. lib. 1. Epist. 116. But how the king, dreading this, interposed an Appeale, is declrared in a letter written by Iohn of Salisbury to the Bishop of Excester, where hee beegin-neth from the Appeale of the Bishops in this sorte. How as touching the publicke estate, this was afterwardes diuulged, by the affirmation of many; how all the Bishoppes of England assembled by the kinges commandement, to the end the sentence promulged by my Lord the Pope might not take place, they appealed against their Archbishop, who for their safety and the liberty of the Church, was neither ashamed nor afrayd to expose his possessions and fortunes to the spoyle of the wicked. There came to him not long since two of the Clergy (as one then present at Pontiniake made certayne relation to mee) publishing these things and appealing, the first in the beehalfe of the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, the other of his Deane, absolutely denying he made euer such oath to the Emperor or in sorte communicated with Reynold the Scysmaticke of Colen; on of them alon confessing he was M. Iohn of Oxefordes clearke, and familiarly

The Bishops interpose an Appeale.

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miliarly conuerſed with him at the table, ſayd hee had a meſſage from the king to the Archbishop, appealing in the name and beehalfe of his Maieſty ād by his commandement (as hee affirmed) frō the Archbishop to Pope Alexanders audience, and added, that by him the king appealed, aſſigning for the appeale the day wherin is ſung *Ego ſum Paſtor bonus.* To whom the Archbishop replyed thus: Since you are altogether vnknown to vs, neither yet haue any Mandate or letters from the king, and are a perſon excommunicate by reaſon of your communicating with your Maſter Iohn of Oxeford, who is apparantly excommunicated by my Lord the Popes letters, you are diſenabled to vndertake the office of an Appealant, and therefore by Gods grace wee will execute and accomplish the commandement of the Sea Apoſtolicke. And a litle after. But all France wondred at the dealinges of theſe Bishoppes, ſaying: They muſt needes aſſemble to prouide a remedy for their king, whom they knewe (like the Emperor whoſe offence was his Scyſme) to fall daily deeper into the ruine of ſinne, in regard of the Church and Clergie, whoſe ouerthrow hee wroight. Thus Salisbury.

The King appealeth.

But the Bishoppes of England, Suffraganes to ſaint Thomas beeing netled with the letters of their Archbishoppe, who gouernd as Legate a latere, flying backe, neuer deuyſed (as they ought) to obey his commandementes, to receaue profitable admonitions, to prouide for the goods of the Catholicke commonwealth by redeeming it from miſerable bondage, but rebelling, contend againſt him for the king, with wrytinges, wordes, and actions: and ſoe far were they of from defending the Church againſt the king (which was their office, and whereunto the holy ſaint by his letters exhorted them) ſoe far were they (I ſay)

The Bishops of England beecome aduerſaryes to S. Thomas.

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from reprehending and threatening him, by ſetting forth what arrowes were euen now in the bowe ready to ſtrike (I meane the Eccleſiaſticall cenſures iſſuing out with Apoſtolicall power from the Church of Rome) that they rayſed rather a terrible warre againſt this holy Saint who defended the Eccleſiaſticall liberty, aſſayling him with the weapons of contentious wordes, to the open ſcandall of all Catholike Biſhops that euer heard it, eſpecially their neighboring Biſhops of France, among whom this glorious Confeſſor Thomas liued as yet ſecurely. And firſt they aſſaulted him with letters ſoe terrible, as to them the ſaying of Dauid might rightly ſute: The poyſon of Aſpes lurked vnder their lippes, whoſe mouth was full of curſing and bitternes, their feete were ſwifte for the effuſion of blood: while in the meane tyme they would diſſembling ſeeme to bee pious, to bee peace makers, deſirous of Charity, carefull for brotherly concord, imitating ſuch indeede of whom the Pſalme aptly ſayth; Their ſpeeches are made, ſofter then oyle, and the ſame are dartes. All this ſhall you better vnderſtand by reading their owne Epiſtles written this preſent yeere. The Ring-leader of theſe diſordered Biſhops was London, for hee penned their letters, although written in all their names.

Pſalm. 13.

Pſalm. 54.

Theſe letters are extant, beeing either recyted by Roger in his Chronickles of England, or elſe gathered out of the booke of the Vaticane, where they are ſet downe at large. And firſt of all receaue theſe which next enſue after the former recyted Epiſtles in this manner.

The Epiſtle of the Biſhops.

To the reuerent Father and Lord Thomas by the grace of God Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury, the Suffragan Biſhoppes

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of the same Church and Parsons through their Dioceses in seueral places ordayned doe send their dutifull subiection and obedience. *shopps of England to S. Thomas.*

Wee hope (*father*) *that the troubles which were rayſed by the new and vnexpected attempt of your departure hence to thoſe forraine countreyes, would by the grace of God through your humility and wiſedome bee changed into the faire calme of the former tranquility. It was truly comfortable to vs that after your departure a publicke fame was euery where reported; how you liuing in thoſe partes beeyond the ſeas, did nee whit aſpire in high conceiptes, nor imagine any enterpriſes againſt our Lord the kinge and his kingdome, but modeſtly indured the vndertaken burden of your voluntary pouerty, that you were wholy bent to reading and prayer, redeeming with faſting, watching and teares, the loſt tyme of your forepaſſed dayes, and ſoe buſyed in ſpirituall exerciſes, did through the bleſſed encreaſing of your vertues monte to the ſtate of perfection; wee reioyced that by ſuch your endeauors you tooke the way to recouer the benefittes of a peaceable reconciliation; heereby was conceaued a hope that you could reduce from aboue into his Maieſties harte ſuch fauor, that hee would out of kingly mercy relent in his wrath towardes vs, and neuer recall to minde againe the iniuryes offered in and by reaſon of your departure, your freindes and well wishers regayned ſome acceſſe vnto his Maieſtie while theſe thinges were thus diuulged of you, in ſoe much as hee gratiously admitted all ſuch as were ſutors for reſtoring you into his former fauor. But now by the relation of ſome wee vnderſtand which wee cannot but with greiſe remember, that you published againſt him a ſeuere threatening of comminatory, wherin you let paſſe all ſalutation, wherin you practiſe nee*

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counſell or petition for pretending grace, wherein you neither deuiſe nor write any thing that ſauoreth fauorably, but with all extremity doe rigorouſly menace Interdiction or excommunicatiō to bee inſtantly pronounced againſt him, which were it as sharpely executed as it is bitterly ſpoken, wee should not then hope our diſturbed eſtate would bee reduced to concord, but should feare it would bee inflamed with an irreuocable and eternall hatred. Let your holy wiſedome ponder the end of theſe actions, carefully indeauoring that what is diſcreetely beegun, may likewiſe come to a happy concluſion.

Bee therefore (if it pleaſeth you) prudently aduiſed whether you runne, and whether you can by theſe endeauors obtayne your deſyred end; for our partes wee are fallen downe by theſe your attemptes, from a marueulous heighth of hoppe, and wee who conceaued once ſome likelihood of obtayning tranquillity, are now with a kind of heauy deſpaire caſt downe from all hopfull conceyptes, and whilſt as it were with drawne ſword you ioyne battell, you haue not left for your ſelfe any place for petition. Whereupon (ô father) wee charitably imparte to your aduiſe, that you heape not labors vpon labors, and iniuries on iniuryes, but ſetting threatinges aſyde, you would rather embrace patience and humilyty; Commend your cauſe to the diuine clemency, and your ſelfe to the grate and merey of your Soueraigne, and in ſoe doing you ſhall heape and caſt together coales of fire vpon the heades of many; let charity in this ſorte bee inkindled, and wherin menaces cannot preuayle, by Gods holy inſpiration and the perſwaſiue counſell of good men, piety alone may happely conquer. It is better to bee highly commended for voluntary pouerty, then bee openly taxed by all men of ingratitude for a receaued benefitt. It is deepely rooted in the mynds of all how gratious our Lord the king hath bin vnto you, vnto how greate dignity hee hath rayſed you

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from poore degree, and receaued you into the bosome of his fauor with a mynd soe free, as the ample boundes of his dominion reaching from the Northerne Ocean to the Pirenean Mountaynes were by him soe absolutely subiect vnto your power, as through all those principalityes they were only accompted happy, who could finde but fauor in your sight, and that no worldly mutability might ouerthrowe your prosperity, hee would lay your foundation most assuredly in possession appertayning to God, and notwithstanding his mother disswaded, the realme cryd out against it, and the Church of God (as far as shee could) sighed and groaned thereat, hee endeauored by all meanes possible to rayse you aloft vnto the dignity of your presens preferment, hoping hee should hereafter raigne blessedly, and enioy your assistance and counsell with exceeding security. If therefore where hee expected security to defend him, hee shall find a sword to offend him, what a rumor will bee spread of you in the mouthes of all men? what a reward, what a remembrance will this bee of a requitall neuer heard of beefore? Forbeare therefore (if so it liketh you) to wrong your fame, forbeare to iniure your renowne: and endeauor to ouercome with humility your king, with charity your sonne. Whereunto if our admonitions cannot moue you, the loue and fidelity you beare to his Holines and the sacred Roman Church ought to inclyne you: For you ought easily to bee perswaded not to attēpt any thing, whereby to encrease the labours of your Mother, who hath bin now long in troubles; that her greife, which allready lamēteth the disobedicce of many her vndutifull children, bee not encreased by the losse of those who remayne as yet obedient. For what if soe by these your bitter prouocations and endeauors (which God forbid) our king, whom through the Allmightys bounty, people and kingdomes doe attend, should reuolt from our Lord the Pope, and refuse perchance heereafter to followe his

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Holines. Who denyeth him assistance against your selfe? wherein, with what petitions, what giftes, with how many and how great promises hath hee bin solicited? whereas hee hath remayned hitherto firmly grounded on the rocke, and as a Conqueror in the heyght of his magnanimity contemned all the world could offer, one only feare resteth as yet, least hee; whom neither profered riches, nor all that in humaine glory is accompted pretious, could euer once moue, should in the end by the only indignation of his mynd bee ouerthrowne: which if by your default it should soe fall out, you could neuer after with any reason forbeare to waste your selfe wholy in the Threanes of Ieremy, or deny your eyes a fountaine of teares.

Recall therefore (if soe it pleaseth your excellency) this counsell, which if it proceedeth, will by all meanes bee truly pernicious to our Lord the Pope, the sacred Romane Church, and (if it liketh you to vnderstand it) also to your selfe. But they about you, who mount highest in their owne conceiptes, will not suffer you parchance to proceede on this way; they exhorte you to make tryall what you are able to doe against our Lord the king, and to practise the power of your eminent authority against all that lyeth within the compasse of his Dominion. A power truly terrible to an offendor, and dreadfull to him who refuseth to satisfy; but for our Lord the kinge, wee will not say hee neuer offended, but that hee, was, and is euer ready to yeelde satisfaction to the Popes Holines, wee confidently affirme and pronounce. Our king ordayned by God prouideth in all respectes for the peace of his subiectes, and to the end hee may conserue the same to the Churches and people committed to his charge, hee willeth and exacteth that the dignityes which were due, and giuen to the kinges his Predecessors should likewise bee continued to him, wherin if betweene you two here hath aryssen any contention, beeing heerupon conuented and

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cyted with a fatherly fauor from his Holines by our reuerent brethren the Bishops of London and Hereforde, hee opened not his mouth againſt heauen, but concerning all thinges wherin the Church or any Eccleſiaſticall perſon ſhall finde himſelfe greeued hee humbly and meekely anſwered, hee would not vſurpe on the right of others, but ſubmitt himſelfe to the iudgment of the Church of his owne kingdome, which truly hee is ready in deedes to performe, and accompteth it a ſweete obedience to bee admonished to reforme himſelfe, if hee hath any way offended Gods Maieſtie. Neither only hath hee a mynde prepared to ſatisfy, but alſo if the law requireth to make herein ample amends; But with what lawe, with what right, with what Cannon can you afflict the perſon who is willing to make full amends and ſatisfaction, not drawing himſelfe in the leaſt point from the iudgment of the Church in ſuch thinges as appertayne to the Church, and yeelding his neeke to Chriſtes yoke? Or with what Euangelicall Axe (which God forbid) can you cut him of? It is aſſuredly laudable not to bee caryed on with paſſion, but to bee diſcreetely gouernd with iudgment; wherupon wee doe all ioyne in one generall petition vnto you, that you would not headlong run on to kill and deſtroy, but with a fatherly loue indeauor to prouide, that the ship committed to your charge may enioy life, peace and ſecurity.

Wee are all vndoubtedly troubled with the proceeding, which wee haue heard of late to bee (as ſome imagine) prepoſterously, carried againſt our brother the Lord Bishop of Salisbury his Deane, vpon whom you haue inflicted the paine of ſuſpenſion or excommunication, beefore the offence was any way called in controuerſy, giuing therin (as it ſeemeth) rather reynes to your wrath, then following the path of iuſtice. A new order of iudgment and hetherto in the lawes and Canons (as wee hope) vn-

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knowne, first to condemne and then to examin the offence. Which that you may neuer attempt to exercise and execute gainst our Lord the king and his kingdome, nor yet against vs and the Churches and parishes vnder our charge, to the derogation and detriment of the Popes Holines and the sacred Roman Church, and to no litle augmentation of your owne confusion; wee doe heere oppose against you our remedy of Appeale, and wee who haue heeretofore lōg since in the open face of the Church and in proper person Appealed to the Popes Holines against the feare of these vexations, haue now againe by wryting Appealed to the same Sea, and assigne for the terme of our Appeale the day of our Lords Ascension; humbly beeseeching with all the deuotion wee can deuise, that taking more sound aduise you would spare both your and our trauell and expences, and in that sorte to repose your cause, as it may finde a speedy redresse. And soe (father) wee wish you well to fare in our Lord.

Hetherto the Bishop of London, together with his Associates of the same Prouince, vnto whom saint Thomas thus replyed.

od V at lib. Epist. 108.

Thomas the humble seruante of the Church of Canterbury to Gilbert Bishoppe of London, as once, now againe, wisheth him soe to passe through temporall prosperity, as he e looseth not eternall felicity.

he answer of S. Thomas o Gilbert. Bishop of ondon and se other ishop.

It is a wonder, yea an exceeding maruayle, that a man of wisedome, lerned in the holy Scriptures and at the least in habit bearing a showe of religion, should soe manifestly, I spare to say vnreuerently, without all feare of God, bee aduersary to the truth, an oppugner of iustice, and confounding all right with wrong indeauor the ouer-

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throwe of the state of the Church, which the Allmighty himselfe hath builded. For it is truth that sayth, The gates of hell shall not preuaile against her. Hee is not therefore a man of a sober mynde who intendeth her ruine, but like one who binding a mighty montayne about with arope, attempteth to ouerthrowe it. And haue wee passionately run into anger and hatred, that prouoked to wrath wee are incyted to darte such wordes as these at our brother, Associate and fellowe Bishoppe? God forbid. But thus much haue wee collected out of your letters, which wee receaued by the handes of your Archdeacon, Neither truly, can wee gather grapes of thornes, or figges of thistles. That it may playnly appeare whether this bee soe or not, let vs lay them open, and bring to light their contentes. The end compared with the beeging resembleth a Scorpion: this maketh his entry with flattery, that stinging vs terribly, attempteth to shut vs vp in silence: For what is it else, first to acknowledg your bounden subiection to vs, and promise obedience annexed to subiection, then for anoyding your obedience, to flye off to an Appeale. What are there with mee is and is not? saith the Apostle: Neither ought the same to bee with the Apostles scholler. The Disciples necessarily receaued from our Lord power to tread vpon Serpents and Scorpions, and Ezechiel at this day dwelleth with Scorpions. And consider in what sense you say? Wee flye to the remedy of an appeale. You call your selfe the follower of Christ, and yet in these wordes you are found otherwise; for Christ hath recommended to vs obedience, as the efficacious, yea the most effectuall remedy of all our mischiefes, and that not only by word, but alsoe by most euident example, beeing made obedient to his father euen to the very death; and with what face can you then call that a remedy, which is the impediment of obedience, and is not to bee termed a remedy, but more truly a detriment? And

Ezechiel 2.

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vpon what confidence doe you preſume heerin to haue probable hope to procure any patronage or protection to sheild you from your obedience, beefore him, who for the chaſticing of all diſobedience, has receaued as well his office, as a commandement? It is ill to hope in him, and withall greeuously to offend him. The firſt and ſecond repulſe which you haue allready ſuffered may well hinder you from ſuch preſumption, for firſt your ſelfe in perſon, and then your letters compoſed for perſwaſion, haue by experience proued, how firmely hee ſtood, how truly hee was the vicar of Peeter, whom you could neuer moue by prayers, giftes, admonitions, or promiſes: But now the third tyme hee is to bee attempted, that by the example of his Maſter, hee may after a third temptation tryumph with victory.

Ioan. 21. And that nothing may bee left vnattempted to encreaſe our vexation; you haue fixed the Terme of your Appeale allmoſt a whole yeere hence, neither take you any compaſſion of our banishement, or of the labor of the holy Church the Spouſe of Chriſt, which with his blood hee purchaſſed, and to omitte theſe (yet truly not to bee omitted) neither haue you a carefull eye ouer our Lord the king (whom you pretend to fauor) who as long as hee proceedeth in this ſorte againſt vs, and the Church of Chriſt, cannot without perill of his ſoule, either march to warre, or liue at home in peace. Let vs paſſe to the reſt.

You recyte ſome troubles which aroſe in and by our departure; let the authors and counſellors of this perturbation, feare leaſt themſelues fall into perturbation. You ſet vs forth with great prayſes in regarde of the beeginning of our peregrination; and doubteleſſe it is not the parte of a wiſe man to neglect his fame; but who is diſcreete ought in cenſuring himſelfe to beeleiue none ſooner then himſelfe. Wee are accuſed of iniuryes offered our Lord the kinge, but beecauſe you name not any, wee knowe

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not whereunto wee are bounde to answer, and beeing superficiously accused, wee doe but superficiously excuse our selues; neuertheles meane whyle receaue this from vs: wee are guilty of nothing, neither yet are wee therefore iustifyed. You maruayle at the threatening, or cõminatory sent out by vs against him: what father who seeth his sonne runne astray can bee silent? who doth not chastice with the rod, to preuent the slaughter of the swoard? The parent despayreth of the sonne whom with threatening or discipline hee correcteth not; God forbid wee should thinke with you, that our Soueraigne beeing impatient to endure correction, should fall downe to the extirpation of Apostacy; for the plantation of the heauenly father will not easily bee pluked vp by the rootes. The shipp is tossed with a most terrible tempest, wee are her Pilot, and you perswade vs to sleepe.

You heape together and set before our eyes the benefittes beestowed on vs by our Lord the king, and recounte how were raysed by him from a lowe degree, to the heygth of Fortune we wee may truly answer heereunto a litle, and yet neuertheless not frõ how lowe a degree as you thinke. If you consider but the tyme wherin wee were preferred to his seruice, the Archdeaconry of Canterbury, the Prouosty of Beuerly, the many Churches, together with some Prebendaryes, and other possessions, beeing of no smale value, which wee inioyed from our Ancestors, disproue that wee were as then soe meane as you say in the worldes reputation. But if you ayme at the stemme of our stocke, and our parentage: They were assuredly of the Citty of London, liuing without taynte of credit, in the middest of their fellow Cittyzens, neither rancked in the lowest degree: But that, the mist of these wordly conceyptes beeing once vanished, wee may with the light of truth bee more rightly discerned, which is more glorious eyther to be borne of meane, yea the poorest parents, or of

Gilbert Becket Portgraue of the Citty of Lõdon in the raigne of K. Stephen was father to S. Thomas. Godfrey de Maundeuil was Portgraue of Lõdon in the time of the Conqueror and Willam Rufus. Hugh Bouch and Aubrey de Vere in the raigne of Henry the

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great and glorious persons, since the Apostle saith; Wee cloathe the baseste partes of our body with more abundant honor. 1. Cor. 12. What auayle our high desentes? (quoth the Gentil Poet.) What hath a Christian, a Bishop, a Scholler, a Religious man to say heerein? If you labour by ripping up the memory of our powerty, to brand vs with confusion: how great an offence it is then to confound your father, consider in the commandement of our Lord which you haue receaued for honoring your parents. Exod. 20.

Concerning the fauor of the king soe highly commended to vs through the remembrance of his bestowed benefitts, you needed not to haue laboured so much therin, for wee call the Allmighty to wittnes, that wee hould nothing vnder the sunne soe deare as his fauor and prosperity, sauing euer to God and his holy Church their freedomes and immunityes, for otherwise he can neuer raigne either happely or securely: But let it passe, since soe it is, benefittes towardes vs farre more and more ample then all these your wordes haue yet expressed; ought wee for all these, yea were they twise soe many to beetray the liberty of Gods Church? How far lesse should wee then doe it for the preseruation of a blast of fame, which often varyeth from the truth? If towards others wee haue proceeded with more leuity, yet in this wee will neither spare you nor others, nor yet an Angell if he descendeth from heauen, but strayght as wee heare him mouing or mentioning this, hee shall haue this answer from vs: Auant, backe Sathan, thou doest not relish what appertayneth to God. Far bee from vs this frantick folly, deliuer vs (Lord) from this extreme madnes, to be perswaded euer through any trecherous falshoode to make a marte of the body of Christ, wherin wee may bee compared to Iudas the Traytor, and our Soueraigne to the Iewes who chafered for Christ.

As touching this our high preferment, wherunto (as you

first. Next Gilbert Becket as before. Peter Fitswalter Portgraue in the time of king Henry the 2. And the succesiuely Iohn Fits nigel. Ernulphus Buchel, and William Fits-Isabell, all which Iohn Stowe witnesseth. Heerby you may see what worthie mē were then Portgraues of London, and so consequently of what accōpt Gilbert Becket the father of saint Thomas was. Portgraue was then the highest Gouernor of the Citty.

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wryte) wee were rayſed, although the mother of our Lord the king diſſwaded it, the realme cryed out againſt it, the Church of God as faras she durſt ſighed thereat. As for the realme wee heard not her exclamations againſt vs, but rather her acclamations of ioy: Touching the diſſwaſions of our kinges mother, if any ſuch were, they neuer paſſed to the publicke notice of the world: it may bee ſome Eccleſiaſticall perſons aſpiring (as is accuſtomed) to this promotion of ours, ſighed when they perceaued themſelues to bee fruſtrated of this conceaued hope, who perhaps at this day in reuenge of this their defeatement, are procurers and counſellors of this preſent diſſention: But woe bee to him through whom ſcandal aryſeth. Yet againſt theſe impedimentes with which you formerly taxe vs, or againſt others (if any there were) the diuine diſpenſation (as now you may plainly ſee) hath preuailed. Wee are tryed beefore him, who is iuſtice it ſelfe, and found to preferre none before him, who out of his ſingular mercy hath ſetled vs in this degree. That alſo which you ſeeme to propoſe for the iuſtification of the kinges Maieſtie, wee haue not thought meete to bee lightly ouerſlipped, or without mature examination; and wee would to God hee had neuer ſtrayed from iuſtice, and that our complaint againſt him might haue appeared leſſe iuſtifyable.

You ſay hee is and was euer ready to giue ſatisfaction, this you confidently affirme, this you proclayme. Forbeare, heere a litle, and anſwer our demandes: In what ſence vnderſtand you (as you call it) this preparation to ſatisfaction? See you theſe of whom God termeth himſelfe the father and Iudge, wee meane Orphanes, widdowes, children, Innocents, yea ſuch as are abſolutely ignorant of this our controuerſy now in queſtion, caſt into banishment, and are you ſilent? Clearkes rooted out of their countrey, and cry you not againſt it? Others ſpoyled of their goodes, and contumeliouſly abuſed, and doe you not

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reprouue it? Our ſeruantes throwne into priſons and bound in fetters, and doe you not open your mouth againſt it? Your Mother the Church of Canterburyes poſſeſſions with hauocke waſted, and doe you not reſiſt it? Your father hardly eſcaping the ſwoardes euen now threatening to murder him, and are you not ſenſible of ſorrowe? And what is farre worſer, are you not asham'd to ioyne with our perſecutors againſt vs, God, and his Church, and that not in ſecret? Is this ſatisfaction, not to correct offences committed, and daily to heape more greeuous miſcheifes on miſcheifes? But perhaps you vnderſtād this on the will of the wicked, according to the ſentence, I will imbrewe myne arrowes with blood. *But you will replye: what lay you father to my charge? I will anſwer all in a worde,* I am a afraide of my coate. *True (ſonne) too truely you anſwer: and therefore you want a ſwoard.*

Deutro. 32.

Whereas you wryte, hee is ready to ſtand to the iudgement of his owne kingdome, as if this were a worthy ſatisfaction: who is there in earth or in heauen it ſelfe that can preſume to iudge of the diuine diſpenſation? Let humain matters bee adiudged, but for ſuch as are diuine, let them remayne and bee left abſolutely vntouched: How much better were it (brother) how much more profitable to him, how much more ſecure for you, if you would by all meanes endeauor to inuyte, to perſwade him to fullfill the will of God towardes the conſeruation of the peace of his Church, not to couet after theſe thinges, which are not committed to this gouerment: to honor the preiſtes of God, nor yet to conſider what they are, but whoſe ſeruantes they are. You lay to our charge, that wee haue abuſed our ſelues in a preiudicate proceeding againſt the Biſhop of Salisbury, and Iohn of Oxeforde *not a Deane (as you tearme him) but an vſurper of a Deanry, wherin you ought to remember, that ſome manifeſt certaintyes did forerun this iudgment; and withall you ſay you are mo-*

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ued; what elſe? A man is afrayd when his neighbors houſe is on fire, and would to God you were well moued, from that, wherin you haue vnlawfully ſtood. Let therefore our Lord the king knowe and vnderſtand by your relation, that hee who raigneth in the Empyre of men and alſo of Angells, hath ordayned two powers vnder him, Princes, and Preiſtes; one earthly, an other ſpirituall, one miniſtring, an other more excellent, one to which hee hath granted authority, the other to which hee would haue reuerence yeelded, hee then who derogateth from the right of the one or the other, reſiſteth Gods ordination. Let not then our Soueraigne Lord diſdaine to attribute to them, vnto whom the higheſt of all vouchſafeth to attribute, calling them often goddes in the holy Scriptures, For hee ſpeaketh thus: I haue ſaid yee are godes &c. *Pſal. 81.*
And againe: I haue appointed thee the God of Pharao. *Exod. 9.*
And, Thou ſhalt not detract from the Goddes: (*that is to ſay*) *the Preiſtes. And ſpeaking by Moyſes of him who was to ſweare, hee ſayth:* Bring him to the Goddes: (*that is*) *to the Preiſtes. Neither let our king preſume to attempt to iudge his iudges: For the keyes of the kingdome of heauen are committed not to powers of this earthe, but to Preiſtes: And therefore it is written:* The lippes of the Preiſt ſhall haue the cuſtody of knowledge, and from his mouth they ſhall require the lawe, becauſe hee is the Angel of our Lord. And alſo Paule ſayth: Shall wee not iudge Angells, how much more men? *Ibid. 22. Ibidem. 1. Cor. 6.*

Wee would haue you alſo ſuggeſt into the mynde of our Soueraigne Lord, that thing worthie of memory and imitation, which wee reade in the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory of Conſtantine the Emperor, to whom when there were offered vpin wryting accuſations againſt Bishoppes, hee receaued the Schedule of the accuſations, and calling the accuſed together, hee burned it in their ſight, ſaying, Yee are Goddes ordayned by the true God; goe and

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determine your causes among your selues, in regarde it is vnworthy that wee men should iudge the Goddes. *O mighty Emperor! O discreete Gouernor on the earth, not fraudulently vsurping on the authority of others, and deseruing in heauen an eternall kingdome. Let therefore our Lord the king indeauor to imitate soe greate, soe discrete, soe happy an Emperor, whose memory is with prayses renowned on the earth, and likewise accounted eternall and glorious in heauen. Otherwise let him feare what our*

Deut. 17. *Lord hath threatened in Deutronomy, saying:* What man soeuer shall soe deale in his pride, that hee will not heare the preist, hee shall dye before the iudge. *For to this purpose is hee called, and to this end the tranquility of his temporall kingdome, and that magnificency (whereof you put vs in mynde) are giuē him from heauen. Otherwise the king is not sauedby his great power, although kingdomes are subiect vnto him, and nations doe reuerently obey him. And thus far concerning these. Now whosoeuer haue ioyned with you in the wryting of these afore recyted letters, let them knowe that the same answer wee make you, the same wee make to them. What remayneth (brethren) wee admonish, intreate, and beeseech yee, that no scysmes may euer seperate vs, but that wee bee in our Lord one harte, and one soule, and that wee harken to him who sayth: In the beehalfe of Iustice contend for thy life, and fight for Iustice euen to the very death,*

Eccles. 4. and God will conquer for thee thy ne enemyes. *Let vs not forget that seuere iudge, beefore whose Tirbunal Throne when wee shall appeare, Truth only shall adiudge vs, all feare and trust of any earthly power beeing then cleane vanished. Soe in our Lord wee bid your brotherhood farewell.*

These were this yeere written, the rest shall in the yeeres following appeare in their places.

But the Bishoppes of England directed letters to Pope

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Pope Alexander, inueighing against this afore recyted Epistle written to them by saint Thomas, not that they might any way succor the distressed estate of the Church, as neede required, but only appeale to his Holines against their Archbishoppe: For these are their wordes.

The Epistle of the Bishops of England to the Pope.

To their father and Lord the high Bishop Alexander, the Bishops of the Prouince of their seuerall Dioceses dispersed in sundry parishes, as to their Lord and father remember their bounden seruice of charity and obedience.

Wee suppose (father) your excellency is not vnmyndfull, how you consented in your letters lōg since directed, by the mediation of our reuerent brethren the Bishoppes of London and Hereforde, your deuoute sonne, and our most deere and renowned Lord, the king of England, and how with your fatherly compassion you admonished him for the amendment of some matters, which appeared to the eyes of your holines as deseruing reformation in his kingdome, who receauing your commandement with due reuerence (as it is manifest) swelled not in anger, nor with pryde of mynde contemned to obey you, but yeelding thankes for your fatherly chastisement, humbled himselfe presently to the Churches examination, saying that in euery thing, which according to the forme of your Mandat, was dilligently expressed to him, hee would submit himselfe to the iudgment of the Church of his kingdomes: and what soeuer they should determine to bee amended, hee would reforme by their aduise, with a commendable deuotion and in a Prince worthie great prayse; from this purpose hee flyeth not, neither recalleth his mynde from his promise; but hee who may sit in thrones, who may consider and iudge, now moued with the reuerence of diuine

The Bishoppes commend their king.

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feare, not as a king, but as an obedient sonne, is ready to yeelde to iudgment, obey the lawfull pronounced sentence, and (as a Prince bounded with lawes) shewe himselfe in all thinges a dutifull childe, wherefore it is vnnecessary to enforce with interdictions or threates, or the spurres of accursinges the man to satisfaction, who subiecteth himselfe allready to the censures of the diuine lawes. For his actions withdrawe not themselues from the light, nor by any meanes desire to bee shrowded in darknes: for this king in faith most Christian, in the bandes of wedlocke most honest, the conseruer of peace and iustice, and one who enlargeth the boundes of the same far and neere incomparably, indeauoureth with all his power, and thirsteth with a feruent desire, that scandalls and sinnes together with their fowle followers may bee taken away, and rooted out of his kingdome, and that peace and iustice may euer take place, and all thinges prosper and flourish vnder him in sweete securitie and quiet tranquillity.

The Bishops excuse their king.

Who finding sometimes the peace of his kingdome not a litle molested with the outragious excesses of some insolent Clearkes, with due reuerence to the Clergie referred their offences to the Bishoppes iudges of the Church, that one sworde might assist an other, and the power spirituall ground and establish in the Clergie the peace which hee ruled and fostred in his people. Wherin the zeale of thee party came more to light, the Bishops persisting in this setled iudgment, that murder or any other like cryme should only bee punished in the Clergie by degradation; the king on the other syde beeing of opinion that this punishement did not condignly answer the offence, neither was it a sufficient prouision for mayntenance of peace, if a Reader or Acolythy killing some famous man renowned for Religion or dignity, should escape free with the losse only of this Order. The Clergie therefore vphoulding the Order established from heauen, and our Lord the king per-

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secuting only the offence (as hee hopeth) with a iust hatred, and intending to plant his peace more deepely, a certaine holy contention arose among vs, which (wee trust) the playne intention of both parties will excuse with your Holines.

Heereupon not with any ambition of larger dominion, not with any concept of oppressing the Churches liberty but with an affection of confirming peace, our Lord the king passed soe farre, as hee would produce to light the customes of his kingdome, and dignityes anciently obserued, and quietly and reuerently yeelded by persons Ecclesiasticall to former kinges in the kingdome of England, and to the end no longer thread of contention might heereafter bee spunne, hee would haue the same to bee openly knowne. Wherefore the most ancient Bishoppes and greatest peeres of the realme, beeing first adiured by their faith, and the hope which they had in Allmighty God, and then making search into the state of forepassed tymes, the dignityes of the crowne being sought, were layd open, and by the testimonyes of men of the greateste accompt in the kingdome were published: Loe heere the cruelty of our Lord the king against the Church of God, which fame hath soe spread ouer the whole world! Lo heere his persecution! These are his workes soe diuulged for wicked both heere and euery where.

Yet neuertheles in all these proceedings, if there bee any thing contayned either dangerous to his soule, or ignominious to the Church, hee hath long since with a most sacred deuotion promised, and doth still most constantly continewe in the same mynde, especially being admonished and moued with your authority, for the reuerence of Christ, and the honor of the holy Church whom hee professeth to bee his mother, and for the redemption of his soule, to reforme the same accordingly as hee shall bee aduised by the Counsell of the Church of his owne kingdome. And truly

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(father) our ſolicitation had long ſince (as wee hope) obtayned the deſired end of this wished peace, had not our Father the Lord of Canterbury's bitter prouocations ſtirred vp anew this diſcorde now layd aſleepe, and allmoſt abſolutely extinguiſhed. For hee, from whoſe patience wee hitherto expected peace, from whoſe modeſty the recouery of the kinges fauor, aſſayled him afresh, and without reſpect of his Maieſtie (at ſuch time as lately hee led his army against the Peace breakers) with ſeuere and terrible letters, no whit fauoring of fatherly deuotion or Paſtorall patience, but moſt bitterly threatening him with the ſentence of Excommunication, and his realme with the payne of interdiction: Where as on the other ſide, hee rather ought with admonitiõs to haue mollifyed him, and with meritts and meeknes ouercome him, whoſe humility if it bee ſoe requited, what will bee then determined againſt the ſtuborne and contumatious: if the ready deuotion of obedience bee eſteemed ſoe ſlightly, in what manner ſhall willfull obſtinacy bee reuenged? Yea to theſe ſoe greuous threates, are yet added matters far more grecuous; for hee involued in his Excommunication ſome of his Maieſties Liege men, moſt inward with our Lord the king, the principall of his priuy counſell, who managed the myſteryes of the kinges eſtate, and the affaires of his kingdome, and denounced them publickly excommunicate, beeing neuer cyted, nor defended, neyther (as they call it) guilty of any cryme, nor conuicted, nor confeſſing any thing.

Yea hee ſtepped farther, in ſoe much as hee ſuſpended our reuerent brother the Biſhop of Salisbury, beeing abſent, vndefended, neither confeſt, nor conuicte, from his Preiſtly and Epiſcopall Office, beefore euer the cauſe of his ſuſpenſion was approued by the aduice of thoſe of the ſame Prouince, or any others. If therefore this courſe of proceedinges in iudgmentes ſoe prepoſterous (I ſpare to ſay) inordinate, bee followed concerning the king and kings

dome, what will bee the end (considering the time is euill, and yeeldeth great occasion of exceeding malice) but that the band of grace and fauour, whereby the kingdome and preisthood haue bin hetherto vnited, will bee rent a sunder, and wee with the flocke committed to our charge, bee dispersed into exile, or (which God forbid) falling of from the faith, wee owe to you, into the miseryes of Scysme, bee cast downe headlong into the bottomles pitt of iniquity and disobedience: for this is the ready way to the ruine of all relligion, and the subuersion, and ouerthrowe as well of the Clergie as Layety.

In regard whereof, least in soe miserable a tyme of your Apostolicall raigne, the Church bee ouerthrowne; least our Lord the king with the people subiect to him fall away (which God forbid) from your obedience; least what someuer our Lord of Canterbury by the counsell of priuate men deuiseth, bee in his wrath executed on vs, wee haue as well by word as wryting appealed to your excellency against him, and his Mandates importing any detriment to our Lord the king and his kingdome, vs, and the Churches committed to our care, and haue designed for the day of our Appeale, the day of our Lordes Ascension; chusing rather to humble our selues before your Holines in all thinges which shall bee pleasing vnto you, then to bee daily, according to the lofty motions of his mynde (whyle our meritts deserue nothing lesse) tediously afflicted. Wee beseech our Allmighty Lord (most beeloued father in Christ) long to preserue your health to his Churches prosperity. Thus farre the Bishoppes.

The Bishoppes appeale to the Pope against their Archbishoppe.

Pope Alexander neuertheleſſe perſeuering in his opinion, when hee perceaued the Appeale of the Bishoppes to bee voyde, by reason the Appellants appeared not at the designed day, confirmed the sentence which saint Thomas pronounced against them; which is wittnessed by Salusbury in his letter to saint Thomas,

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ſaying: As it is ſignifyed to mee from the Citty, ſoe I remember I certifyed you by wryting, that my Lord the Pope hath now confirmed your ſentence, yea hee hath challenged it as an iniury offered himſelfe. There are alſo extant Pope Alexanders owne letters, written to Saint Thomas to the ſame purpoſe, after hee perceaued the Bishops did not proſecute their Appeale. His wordes are theſe. *Wee haue had intelligence* as well by your letters, as alſoe the certaine relation of many, that you pronounced the ſentence of Interdiction againſt Ioceline Bishoppe of Saluſbury, in regard hee was diſobedient to you, and hee, notwithſtanding hee appealed hereupon to our audience, and aſſigned for the tyme of his appeale the Sunday wherin is ſung, *Ego ſum Paſtor bonus*, next enſuing, neither himſelfe, at that inſtant appeared, neither ſent any one vnto vs, to anſwer for him; wherefore wee refuſing abſolutely to maintayne him in his diſobedience and rebellion againſt you, will by Gods grace ratify and confirme the ſentence, which vpon this occaſion you haue giuen againſt him, and haue thought good to leaue the whole buſines concerning him to bee determined by your diſcretion, reſoluing without farther obſtacle of Appealation, to eſtablish whatſomeuer you shall therin Cannonically doe.

And the Pope likewiſe wrote to all the Bishoppes in england in theſe wordes.

Epiſtola 19. *The Pope in theſe letters reſtrayneth the Bishoppes of England.*

Allthough by the obligation of our office wee are bound to haue a care and bee watchfull for vphoulding the right of all ſortes in perfect integrity, yet notwithſtanding in mayntenance of their iuſtice, who are choſen by our Lord to vndergoe a parte of the charge committed to vs, wee ought in how much they are more eminent aboue others in their authority, ſoe much the more to reflect vppon them, to prouide with greater dilligence for them, and haue an

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especiall eye ouer them Guyded therefore with this reason, wee charge and command yee, and in the vertue of obedience by our Apostolicall letters inioyne your brotherhood, that yee presume not in any case, neither yet any way attempt vpon occasion of the Appeale, which yee haue made vnto vs against our reuerent Brother the Archbishop of Canterbury, to intermedle in any thing knowne to appertayne to the rightes, dignityes, and libertyes of the Church of Canterbury, without his assent and priuity. And if any of yee shall vnder any coluor whatsomeuer dare to breake this our commandement, wee will by the grace of God endeauor to punish him soe seuerely, as hee shall learne by the paine inflicted on him, how dangerous it is to violate the Apostolicall Mandates. Dated at Lateran 5. Kalend. Februarij.

But the king fearing as yet to bee excommunicated, or to haue his Realme subiect to interdiction by Saint Thomas, after hee had interposed (as wee see) such as it was, this Appeale, hee directed to Pope Alexander, an Embassage not soe much to prosecute the Appeale, as to obtayne of his Holines an other legantine authority, to the end hee might thereby weaken and infringe the sinewes of the power giuen to Saint Thomas: and for the vndergoing of the busines, hee desired of the Pope, that a certayne Legate might bee sent him, which was William Cardinall of Papia of the Tytell of Saint Peter *ad vincula*, whom hee might haue as his intire freind: To manage alsoe this matter the king made choyse of his Chaplaine, who (as wee lately sayde) was excommunicated by Saint Thomas becawse hee made oath to the Archbishop of Colen for maintayning the Scysmaticall Pope (wee meane) Iohn of Oxeforde, with whom were others also ioyned Associates in authority; but in what sorte they proceeded with Pope Alexander heerein, wee shall

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heereafter in place conuenient declare.

Codic. Vat. lib 1. Epiſt. 139. The king after this Appeale made (as ſaith Saliſbury) ſent then a Meſſanger into England (for hee remayned at this tyme in Normandy) with letters for guarding the ſea coaſtes, dealing alſo with the Abbott of the Ciſtercians againſt Saint Thomas, for expelling him out of the Monaſtery of Pontiniake; who ſince hee continewed there two yeeres (as the Authors in his life declare) muſt needes bee ſayd this yeere to haue bin banished thence: for the recyted letters teſtify that till this yeere hee remayned there: William likewiſe in Quadrilogus rehearſeth how hee aboade two whole yeeres in that place; and ſoe wee ſee hee entred firſt into that Abbey in the yeere of our Lord 1164. But how foule a ſcandall it was in the eyes of all good men, to ſee ſoe greate a gueſt ſoe banished, the ſayd wryter sheweth at large, and addeth, that Lewes the kinge of France receauing tydinges thereof by letters from Saint Thomas, exclamyng publickly ſayd: *O Religion! ô Religion! where art thou? Loe the men, whom wee eſteemed as dead to the world, feare yet the ruines of the ſame world, and for the fraile temporal trash (which they profeſſ to contemne for our Lord) flye off from the worke, which God himſelf hath commanded, caſting out of their houſe this man exiled for Gods cauſe.* Moreouer hee telleth vs how Saint Thomas was then entertayned by the king of France, aſſigning him Senon to dwell in. And at that tyme (as the ſame Author reporteth) it fell out, that God reuealed to Saint Thomas in a viſion his Martyrdome.

Saint Thomas afterwardes not to let shippe any thing appertayning to his office, whereas hee had beefore with cenſures terrifyed and troubled the king, now againe hee indeauored to quiet and pacify his mynde with more pleaſing letters indyted in this ſorte.

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To his moſt beeloued Lord Henry by the grace of God King of England, Duke of Normandy and Earle of Anioue, Thomas by the ſame grace the humble ſeruãt of the Church of Canterbury wisheth health and all times perſeuerance in goodnes, with worthy reſiſtance of all malicious ſuggeſtions.

Our ſpeech to you ſhall bee shorte, leaſt in abundance of wordes wee become ouer tedious: would to God wee were more acceptable to you, as to our moſt beeloued Lord, hee knoweth this who is the ſearcher of hartes, whatſoeuer is otherwiſe and falſly muttered and murmured againſt vs by your enemyes, yea rightly and truly rather yours then ours. Wee exhorte you therfore agayne on the beehalfe of Allmighty God, and adiure you in the vertue in the Holy Ghoſt, and require you for the remiſsion of your ſinnes, that you make reſtitution ſinceerly, of your grace with aſſured peace and good ſecurity to to vs and ours, and the like to the Church of Canterbury in ſuch fullnes and liberty, as our Predeceſſors and wee alſoe ſince our entrance into our Archbishoppricke haue more amply and freely enioyed the ſame, with all the poſſeſsions, Churches, and prebendaryes appertayning thereunto, which haue remayned voyde ſince the firſt breaking out of the diſcord beetweene you and vs, and ours: and that wee may vſe and poſſeſſe the ſame vnder your dominion, as our predeceſſors haue in better and more worthy ſorte heeretofore done, and wee alſoe ſince our preferment to this ſame Sea: whereby the Church may iuſtly reioyce in our returne, which hath for many cauſes to the danger of both our ſoules (as wee beeleiue) ſoe long wanted our preſence

Cod. Vas. lib. 1. epiſt. 66.

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and ought truly to lament the diſcommodity incurred by our abſence. Performe this (gratious Lord) with a ioyfull and pacifyed mynde, that God may graunt and reſtore to you the peace which your harte deſireth, with the ſaluation of your ſoule, and the ſoules of the people committed by our Lord to your charge, and wee truly on the other ſyde are, and will bee euer ready to doe you all ſeruice with more feruor and deuotion then euer heretofore, ſo long as wee neither offend God, nor violate our order thereby.

Concerning the goods taken away from the Church of Canterbury from vs, and ours, wee conſtantly affirme to you before God and the whole world, yea were his diuine Maieſtie heere preſent, that by no meanes nor reaſon can the ſinne bee forgiuen, vnles what is vniuſtly taken away bee againe reſtored, if hee who tooke it, or cauſed it to bee taken away, hath wherewith to reſtore? Whereupon Saint *Auguſtine ſaith:* If the thing taken away, when it may bee reſtored bee not reſtored, Pennance is not donne, but diſſembled. *And in an other place:* I haue ſayd this moſt confidently, that hee who maketh interceſſion for a man to this purpoſe, that hee may not reſtore thinges vniuſtly taken away: and hee who compelleth not, as farre as honeſtly hee may, the party that in this caſe flyeth to him to make reſtitution, is partaker of his deceipte and offence; for with far greater mercy doe wee forbeare to helpe ſuch men, then aſſiſt them. *Bee aſſured therefore of this, make no doubt at all thereof, and if any man preacheth contrary to this, yea bee it an Angell from heauen, let him be accurſed, and ſoe ſhall hee, as long as hee perſeuereth in this opinion. See therefor (renowned Lord) that in this caſe you walke warely, leaſt the detayning of a thing euill gotten, which is but duſt and wormes, dryue you headlong (which God forbid) into impenitency, and make you*

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subiect to that danger, from which you can neuer be cleansed by fasting and prayer.

Indiscretion moreouer you ought to vnderstand, that although all Bishoppes are not Saintes, yet possesse they the places of Saintes, and albeit they shine not with such merite of life, yet ought they to imitate those who haue shyned before them as farre as Gods mercy will giue them grace. Because therefore holy men haue fought for the law of their God vnto death, and haue not feared the wordes and threates of their persecutors (for hee is absolutely more to bee dreaded who is able to cast soule and body into hell fire) wee likewise are of necessity bound (as far as God will inspire vs) to keepe, foster, and defend his lawes, neyther is this to bee imputed to vs, as pryde or malice, but is imposed on vs as incident to our office. For soe sayth our Lord: Keepe my lawes: And againe in thee Gospell: Hee that breaketh one of these least commandements, shall bee called the least in the kingdome of heauen. Wee beelieue (noble Lord) you are sufficiently endowed with wisedome, and therefore wee humbly beeseech you as our deerest Lord, and that in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ, that you will vouchsafe to heare vs, yea with mercy, and to heare vs throughly, as God may heare, and fully heare you at the day of iudgment, and receaue you among his elected, when assuredly neyther strengh, nor power, nor empyre, nor riches, nor secular lawes, nor customes can helpe any man, nor any thing else but the mercy of Allmighty God with the fruytes of forerunning workes: which would to God it might euer remayne fixed in your mynde, and thence neuer to departe: Let our Lord and king willingly admitt and heare the counsellors who aduise him heerein, that God may prosper him, and lengthen the life of him and his heires with the blessings of peace for many yeeres; neither let them passe in this world vn-

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punished, who with their falshood and exquiſite deceiptes haue endeauored to vndoe and diſturbe the worthie and vertuous deſignes of our Lord and king, which from the beeginning of his raigne hee conceaued and continued (as wee thinke) with a iuſt ſincere deuotion for the honoring of Churches and Eccleſiaſticall perſons. God ſend our Lord euer to florish, and that his Church and wee may thereby liue more bleſſedly: God ſend him long life. And thus Saint Thomas, not as a iudge threatening with ſeuere cenſures, but as a father exhorteth and admonisheth his ſonne, whom hee deſireth to deliuer from the ſentence of condemnation: allthough in vayne, his wicked counſellors withſtanding it.

Cod. Vat. lib. 1. Epiſt. 140.

And like to this complainte of the kinges counſellors made by Saint Thomas (as you haue heard) doth Iohn of Saliſbury inueigh alſo againſt them, wryting to Nicholas de Monte of Roan, who was to Saint Thomas a moſt entire freind, which shorte epiſtle, becauſe it containeth much matter appertayning to this time, wee thought conuenient to bee heere inſerted, being thus.

Our Lord diſperſeth thoſe nations, that would haue warres; and they who eſtrange themſelues from the peace of God, ſhall vndoubtedly perish. What one of the Perſecutors of Gods Church hath bin read to haue eſchewed the reuenging right hand of our Lord, who punisheth the mighty mightely? In regarde whereof (which without greife I cannot ſpeake) our Lord the king of England, whom with his heires, God (if it bee his bleſſed will) preſerue, is much to bee feared leaſt their kingdome bee rent aſunder, and the power weakened, which they haue abuſed againſt the Churche: If reuenge bee deferred for the correction and probation of his children, whom the merciſull father chaſticeth firſt, that hee may after wardes crowne; it is not therefore taken away, but that after

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the patience of the holy it beecommeth more bitter and terrible against the wicked. Why then (I pray you) doth not this most wise man, endowed by God with soe greate vertues, soe large a dominion, and allmost all singular guiftes, returne vnto his harte. And why cannot the cõqueror of soe many and mighty cittyes, cõquer his owne intemperance? Why doth hee, persecuting the Church, the only beeloued Spouse of Christ, inkindle him to wrath who taketh away the spirit of princes, and with his owne propper power trampleth on the neckes of the potent? Vndoubtedly if hee were aduysed, hee would turne the fury of his indignation against them, who with their guiles and abuses, haue thrust him headlong into this not counsell but downefull; and would at the least imitate the king of Babilon, that hee might not bee found more cruell then hee, who cast them into the Lyons denne, by whose counsell hee threw Daniel a prisoner thither, that the guilty counsellers might suffer the paynes, they deuised against the guiltles. Then addeth hee examples of Bishoppes restored by kinges to theire proper Seas; wryting thus: [The Archbishop of Saint Iames who liued long in banishment, is now restored by his king, The king of the Danes calling home his Archbishop, gouerneth by his aduice, subdueth his enemyes, and honoreth him as his father: The Archbishop of Lyons hath receaued againe his Sea, and reduced his prouince to the Catholike vnity: The cittyes of Italy abandoning Fredericke the Scysmaticke, haue entertayned their Catholicke Bishoppes: God is my witnes, vnles our Lord and king recalleth againe his Archbishop, I dread to vtter the feare I conceaue of him; but if hee will send for him, and render peace to the Church of God, I doe assuredly hope, that in him and his the glory of his former successes will through the Churches prayers flourish againe; what say I more?

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There reſteth, yet for him one apparant aduice, which is, that hee banisheth his wicked counſellors, the Churches aduerſarys, and endeauoreth to appeaſe Almighty God, whom hee hath offended, againſt whoſe diuine pleaſure hee can neither raigne nor rule. God hath yet endured him with vnſpeakeable patience, but vnleſſe hee beeware, as the woeman in labor, hee will shortly ſpeake againſt his immoderate proceedinges] And thus far Iohn for this yeere, but after this enſued a wonderfull mutation of matters.

For in the meane tyme the king of England, miſledde with moſt wicked connſell, that hee might auoide the ſentence of Excommunication, thus threatening him, ſearcheth out new remedys, inuenting other ſutle and more potent deuices, which was to addreſſe an other embaſſage, and ſend an other Sinon to Rome to deceaue Alexander with vntrue oathes, and corrupt (as hee could) the Cardinals with money. To ſet this ſinne abroach, is choſen the worſt of men, periured, excommunicated, Iohn of Oxeforde, the vſurper of a Deanry, (as beefore is mentioned) who furnished with lyes, and falſe promiſes, and alſo with gould, might ouerthrowe the whole iudgment, and recall Pope Alexander from pronouncing his ſentences of excommunication and interdiction, beeguyling him with pretended promiſes of peace, and abſolute reſtitution of all the Churches priuiledges inuaded by the king. Pope Alexander gaue credit to this Embaſſadors oathe, ſuſpended his iudgment allready beegun, and determined the legation deſired for effecting this buſines. But allthough hee deſigned according to the kings requeſt William of Papia, Preiſt Cardinall of the tytle of Saint Peeter *ad Vincula*, whom hee eſteemed moſt conuenient, to moue the king his affected freind, for compoſing a peace

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betweene him and Saint Thomas: neuertheles becauſe this Cardinall, in regarde of the kinges fauor, might growe into ſome ſuſpicion with the contrary parte; hee ioyneth with him for an aſſociate a man of ſingular integrity, very much renowned in the Church of Rome, and paſſing well knowne through the whole Chriſtian world for his vertuous life, Otto (I meane) Deacon Cardinall of ſaint Nicholas in carcere Tulliano, who, if occaſion were, might with his worthynes reſtrayne the other, and confine him within the ſtricte boundes of iuſtice. But allthough Pope Alexander proceeded thus warely in ſending his Legates, notwithſtanding this (which might ſeeme ſoe paſſing commendable) by reaſon of the falſe reportes forerunning the Legates, appeared to the credulous, as a matter not beeſeeminge ſuch a ſingular Pope: in ſoe much as all, as well by wordes as wrytinges exclaymed againſt him, yea his very freindes, and thoſe moſt forward for the Carholicke cauſe; but how vniuſtly, will bee eaſily perceaued by this Popes letters which ſhall heereafter bee recyted; yet how, beefore this was throughly vnderſtood, the tongues of men, yea of the wiſe, were let looſe againſt him, you ſhall ſee by what next enſueth, and thereby learne how euery one, yea though moſt holy, is ſett vp as a marke, and as well his freinds as foes will ſometymes shoote at him the arrowes of detraction. For heare what the Champion of the Eccleſiaſticall liberty, and defender of the lawes of the Roman Church ſpoake though ſincerely yet bitterly Thomas (I ſay) the Archbishop of Canterbury, when Iohn of Oxeforde in his returne from the Citty into England, euery where boaſted, that hee had obtayned of Pope Alexander, as well for the king as himſelfe whatſomeuer hee deſired, intermingling many falshoodes with truthes concerning the autho-

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rity conferred in the king, which beeinge blazed abroade and beelieued, Saint Thomas, as one oppreſſed with exceeding ſorrowe, did thus wryte to Iohn a man of his owne Prouince.

Thomas by the grace of God the humble ſeruante of the Church of Canterbury to Iohn of Canterbury ſendeth greetinge.

Cod. Vat. lib. 1. epiſt. 164. How weeare made *a reproach to our neighbors, and a ſcorne and ſcoffe, not only to them who are round about but alſo allmoſt to all the people of both kingdomes as well France as England, and it may bee to thoſe like wiſe of the empyre; and what fame (I ſay not infamy and ſcandall) rangeth vp and downe thorough the eares and mouthes of all men, againſt our lord the Pope, beeing to vs a greater cauſe of greiſe (God hee knoweth) then that of our owne perſon, with a ſlaunder to the whole Courte rayſed by thoſe who rage, and inſulte, and caſt irreuocable dartes of diſgrace againſt them, you may, ſomewhat ſee out of this that followeth, and ſecretly intimate the ſame to our Lord the Pope, and our freindes, if as yet perchance wee haue any.* Hee addeth thereunto what by faithfull reporte hee lately heard out of England, ſaying.

[Beehould Iohn of Oxeforde and other the kinges Embaſſadors returned lately from the courte, extolling themſelues aboue all whatſoeuer is called or honored as God, vaunting they had obtayned of the courte all they deſired, that is to ſay, concerning the band of excommunication, how the king was exempted from the authority of all Biſhoppes, excepting only that of the Pope; and his Maieſtie ſhould haue the Legate hee requeſted, (I meane) William of Pauy our inueterate enemy, with ample power ouer all the kinges dominions to buyld and plant, and eſpecially to pull out,

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pull out, and pluck vp by the rootes without euer any remedy of Appeale, but aboue all to decyde the controuersy now growne betweene the king and vs, with all matters whatsoeuer incident thereunto, without any exception of preiudice (as it is sayd) which may hereafter happen. And with this pomp and pryde returned Iohn of Oxeforde into England, and landing in a certayne hauen, there hee found our Brother the Bishop of Hereforde, expecting (yet secretly) a prosperious winde to passe ouer, daring not openly to attempt it, beeing forbidden by the kinges officers on his Maiesties beehalfe by vertue of his letters; and finding him, Oxeforde first commanded him in the kinges name, and then in the Popes, that hee should not crosse the seas: the Bishop asking (as his messinger, comming afterwarde to excuse his lord, deliuered to vs) whether hee had the Popes letters to warrant this; hee answered, yea; and that our Lord the Pope did thereby forbid both him and all other Bishoppes of England to appeare at our call, or any way to obey vs, vntill the comming of the Legate a latere, whom the king had obtayned from the Pope, and who should also determine the cause of the Appeale lately made, and the mayne controuersy beetweene the king and vs, and all thinges beelonging thereunto, with full power, and without any further barre of Appeale.

The Bishoppe vrging to see the letters, hee replyed, they were not ready at hand, but that hee had sent them with his caryages to wincheſter 12. myles distant from the hauen of South-Hampton: the Bishop taking aduice of his freindes, sent with Iohn of Oxeforde to Wincheſter Master Edward his Clearke (as wee thinke) an honest faithfull man, who sawe the letters, and soe did likewise the Bishop of London,

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beeing then alſo at the pointe of paſſing the ſeas: and London peruſing the letters with reioyceing burſt out into theſe wordes: now Thomas from hence forth ſhall bee no more my Archbishop: And Iohn moreouer added: that hee was a priuiledged perſon, nor could heereafter bee excommunicated, nor conuented by vs, but only in the preſence of our lord the Pope, and likewiſe had free power to beeſtowe the Deanry of the Church of Saliſbury, on whom hee liſted, and for our dignity, that it was in euery point diminished vntill the Legates comming: All this did the Bishop certify vs by his Chaplayne beeing a Cannon Regular, and a Religious man, whom hee ſent to excuſe his forbearance of comming to vs at our cyting; for wee cyted him once and agayne, and laſtly the third time, with a peremptory Mandate to appeare beefore vs, beetweene that, and the feaſt of the Purification, as a man of great authority, the kinges familiar, and one who should mediate a peace beetweene his Maieſtie and us, if poſſibly it might bee compaſed. All this the Cannon is ready to teſtify by oath, that thus hee receaued the ſame from the mouth of the Bishop to bee deliuered on his beehalfe to vs. Which if it bee true, then doubtles our lord the Pope hath choaked and ſtrangled, not our perſon only, but alſoe himſelfe, with all the Clergy of both the kingdomes, yea verily both Churches as well of France as England; for animated with this moſt foule example, what will not other Princes of the world dare attempt againſt Eccleſiaſticall perſons? To whom shall they haue refuge? How can they hee confident of the Church of Rome, that hath ſoe forſaken and left deſtitute vs, who maintaine her cauſe with fighting therefore to the very death? What will beefall, if (theſe vnſpeakeable and deteſtable priuiledges ſtanding good, together with

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the oppreſſions as well by the king, as others vnder any pretext) it ſhould ſoe happen (which God forbid) that the Pope should dye, or the Citty runne into confuſion, of troubles? All theſe would then deſcend on their heires, nor would euer heereafter bee wreſted out of their hands. And what is far worſe, other Princes ſtirred vp with this example would extorte the like priuiledges, to bring the Church, whether shee will or no into ſubiection: Soe shall the Churches whole liberty vtterly decay, together with the iuriſdiction and power of Bishoppes, no man remayning who is able to controule and reſtaine the outrages of Tyrants, whoſe whole intention is at this day bent to make hauocke of the Church and Clergy, nor will they haue brought them, like others into bondage. What will bee the end wee know not, but this wee knowe, that our greife exceedeth meaſure, bee theſe thinges true or falſe, which are thus propounded: For wee are neither obeyed nor reſpected in any thing, as wee were wont, by Bishoppes or Abbotts, or others of the Clergy of England, beeing now aſſured of our depoſition. But let our Lord the Pope bee perſwaded, that wee will neuer on any condition paſſe ouer into the kinges Dominion, to haue there our cauſe decyded, nor will wee euer abide the iudgment of our enemyes, and eſpecially of Papyan, who thirſteth nothing but our blood, thereby to obtayne our ſeate, which in truth (as wee heare) is allready promiſed him, vpon condition the king may bee deliuered of vs.

Wee haue alſo an other exceeding greiuance. The nobles as well temporall peeres as Bishoppes, with other Prelates of the kingdome of France, as it were deſpairing now of vs, shake of and ſend vs backe againe the Aſſociates of our exile, whom they haue heatherto mercifully relieued, and what will theſe but

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perish heereafter with cold and famyne, as others their fellowes haue formerly donne. Intimate all these thinges diligently to our Lord the Pope, that hee may prouyde vs some remedy against these mischeifes according to our request, if as yet any zeale of God remayneth in him, as wee hope it doth, and woe pray God our hope confoundeth not. Farewell, and with all speede returne vs backe this messanger againe, who may as well in these as other matters certify vs, who rest streyghtned in great extremitys, if thinges are soe as wee heare them reported.]

And thus Saint Thomas wrote to his agent being lieger for him in the Citty. But heere ended not the complaints poured out against Pope Alexander: For now remayneth to be recyted an other epistle of Lumbard Subdeacō of the Sea Apostolike, who liued at this present in France, and wrote thence to the Pope, for it is first thus intytuled. To Pope Alexander, Lumbard Subdeacon of the Roman Church. And afterwardes beeginneth thus.

To the reuerent father and Lord Alexander by the grace of God High Bishop, Lumbarde his faithfull Clearke remembreth his seruice of obedience.

Cod. Vat. lib. 1. epist. 165.

Whereas I am seruante to your Holines, and in Christ the worke of your handes, I neither can nor ought to dissemble the slanders openly spread to the reproch of your renowne, and derogation of your name, and such mischeifes as are subtilly deuised to the detriment of the whole Church. For Iohn of Oxeforde insolently vaunteth, hee is returned from Rome with the honor of a Deanry, and the fullnes of your fauor, adding arrogantly withall, that hee is fortifyed with your priuiledge against my Lord of

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Canterbury, and euery Bishop; and beeing as it were litle inferior to the Courte of Cardinalls, that hee is subiect to you only, and your Apostolike power: glorying moreouer in his pryde, hee affirmeth, hee hath procured that for the king, which neuer kingdome could yet obtayne, which is, the confirmation of a Mariage by your authority, beetweene the king of Englandes sonne, and the Earle of Britaines daughter, beeing Cosyns in the third degree: And lastly, that Legates (such as he desired) were to bee sent to heare and determine whatsoeuer it should please the king to deuise against my lord of Canterbury; without any remedy of Appeale. All this (most holy father) vpon Iohns returne from Rome was diuulged: which by how much they were the more vnusuall, how much the more rare to bee compased; soe much they more amazed the heares myndes: whereupon the king of France, the deuoute childe of your Holines, and of the Church, was soe passionatly moued, as hee sayd, hee would presently addresse a message to forbid your Legates to enter his Realme, and more hee did, which I willed this Bearer by word of mouth to deliuer. Hee resolued moreouer to assemble his Archbishoppes and Bisshoppes, beefore whom hee would lay open and declare, how the Church of Rome rayseth alofte the malicious enemyes as well of him as her selfe, endeauoring to depresse his power; saying: and doth hee not seeke my dishonor who subtelly compasseth to worke the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury, an innocent man, banished for iustice, and the Churches liberty, by yeelding him wickedly vp into the handes of his persecuting enemyes, whom not in respect of any fauour receaued by him, hauing rather bin wronged by him, whyle hee serued the king, who now seeketh his ouerthrowe, but moued with reuerence of the most iuste cause hee mayntaineth with admiration of his vertue, and the loue of my Lord the Pope (who instantly entreated mee for

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him) I constantly resolued to entertayne honorably and decently (as long as hee remayned in exile) and to nourish him (as it were) in my bosome, as I haue allready beegunne: denouncing to all, and openly protesting, it was no lesse greuous to him, that your Holines sent Legates for managing this cause, then if you had designed them for depriuing him of his Crowne. Neither were they wantinge who ministred fewel to his enflamed mynde.

Weertupon was occasion giuen of malice and mischeinous attemptes against vs, and the Church of God, to them, who from the beeginning had myndes and meanes to hurte vs, whose wicked purpose your clemency hath nothing changed, although your authority repressed their assaultes. All this I receaued from a Clearke who is faithfull and deuoted to your Holines, who beeing then present, did afterwards pruily deliuer the same to mee. This one thing (most holy father) I assuredly know (which I wryte not without teares) that the glory of your name is somewhat eclipsed, because the detraction of your fame is, as it were, meate and drinke to backbyters and slanderers, who like men intoxicated and drunke with wyne, teare in peeces your renowne, and deuoure it with the iawes of misreportes, and these are not the fauorers of my Lord of Canterbury, but also his professed foes, and that especially since the tyme of his victory and yours (as many beeleiued) was now at hand; for the day of the Appeale beeing past, the king was in that feare to see himselfe excommunicated, and his whole dominion interdicted, as hee sayd openly; Hee neither perswaded, nor compelled his Bishoppes to appeale, and therefore would not intermedle in the matter; the Bishoppes themselues were soe mightily troubled, and feared soe much to bee interdicted, as some of them sent messingers to my lord of Canterbury, others were ready to appeare at his summons.

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When Iohn of Oxeforde, as your Legate assembling the Bishoppes commanded them by authority from you (as it is reported in France) that they should not come to the Lord of Canterbury vpon his citation. Whereupon Master Robert Bishop of Hereforde beeing at the seas syde ready to passe ouer, was recalled againe, as in way of excuse was deliuered from him to the Lord of Canterbury by his Messingers beeing religious men and well knowne, (I beeing then present:) and therefore soe great a trouble hath inuaded the myndes of many, vpon the feare they conceaue of the kinges subtell deuises to the ruine of the Church of Englād and all Churches within his Dominion, together with the ouerthrowe of the Ecclesiasticall liberty, and the longer and stronger persecution of the Archbishop. For whereas it is sayde by many and that very often, that the king hath set vp the rest of his hope on your misfortune and deathe, (which Allmighty God out of his most mercifull clemency long deferre) affirming constantly (as it is reported by many) that hee will neuer admitt your successor, vntill hee hath confirmed all the dignityes and customes of his kingdome. It is therefore supposed, that craftily and fraudulently hee requesteth the Legates for accomplishing his owne endes and desires, as well against the lord of Canterbury, as all other Bisboppes of his land: or if that fayle, yet at the least that hee may put of the excommunication against his person, and the interdiction of his dominions: and thus winning tyme, hee may soe auoyde the authority of the Bishop of Canterbury, as if in your Popedome hee bee not bounde, hee neede not feare the power of your successor, since (as many say) hee hath resolued not easely to receaue him. Wherefore (most wise father) such as thirst after the spiritt of God, and peace of the Church, desire with all the affection of their myndes, that our Lord will styrre vp in you the Spirit of Daniel,

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Daniel. 14. *to ſearch out the ſleyghts of Bell, and to kill the Dragon: For which they beſeech God with their deuoute and continual prayers. God proſper your Holines with many yeeres.* Thus far Lumbard, whom one reporteth to haue bin the renowned diuine, who flouriſhed in Paris, and beeing properly called Peter Lumbard, liued in theſe dayes. You haue heard the complayntes of the king of France and others, expreſſed in Lumbardes letter: Heare now the exulting and inſulting of the king of England deriued from this vnfortunate fountaine beeing no litle cauſe of lamentation to all well diſpoſed myndes: For there is extant to this purpoſe an epiſtle of Iohn of Saliſbury written to Iohn Biſhop of Poytiers, wherin after other thinges, hee ſayth thus of the king of England.

[Moreouer the king himſelfe toulde the Bishop of Worceſter that hee and all other Biſhoppes, were now exempt from the Lord of Canterburys power, and commanded him not to feare any threates, for hee had now my Lord the Pope and all the Cardinalls in his purſe; and ſoe far hee vaunteth, as hee ſayth openly, hee hath now at laſt obtayned the priuiledge of his Grand father, beecauſe in his owne land hee was a king, a Legate, a Patriarcke, and Emperor, and what hee liſt, and ſoe would he bee; wherin as it is probable, hee aymed at the Church of Rome; For what could Octauianus or the Archhereticke of Crema haue don more for him? How could their Cardinalls haue pleaſured him more then the forenamed Cardinalls ſent from Pope Alexander, who whetted the tongues of England, and made them ſpitt fire and poyſon to terrify the Pope and ſubiect him to their will? This will bee regeſtred in the Chronickles of the Roman Church, and doubtleſſe (God permitting it) there will not want Hiſtoriographers to recorde, that

Cod vat. lib. 1. epiſt. 108.

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at the petition and threates of the king of England, whose intollerable excesses hee had soe long endured, the Champion of liberty, the preacher of iustice, now liuing with an infinite number of Innocents for the cause of Allmighty God as yet foure yeeres in banishment, without any respect of reason or lawe as a man guilty, was depriued by the Pope of his office, not vpon any offence of his, but only to please a Tyrant. And yet neuertheless vnder his letters patents remayning with vs, was granted him to exercise in his ample right the power of his office, wherein is expressed, that hee neither gaue nor restrayned the mandate for the kings excommunication. O good God what a nouelty haue wee heere? The holy Ghost biddeth in his lawe: Crye out, cease not: and loe an other spirit, of what fashion I knowe not issuing out from the City into the world, sayeth to the Preachers: cease, crye not. The Apostle instructing a Bishop commanding biddeth: Accomplish thy ministery: And lo the Apostolicall man willeth saying, desist from the ministery of thyne office. Yet perchāce hee supposeth hee can with patience mollify his mynde: but hath hee not a sufficient tryall to the contrary in the Bishoppe of Canterbury, who hauing bin allmost foure yeeres depriued of his Sea, hath felt the remisnes of the Sea Apostolicke, and the Tyranny of the king, beeing all this while exposed to windes? Let therefore (I pray you) my Lord the Pope bee ashamed of such a conscience, and haue a care of his fame, honor, and preseruation of the Church, and intimate this vnto him with more diligence, and perswade my Lordes the Cardinalls to remember the iudgment of Allmighty God, to which Tribunal the poore of Christ doe with their prayers dayly flye against all the Aduersaryes of the Churches liberty.] Thus sayeth Salisbury, who

Isaia 58.

2. Tim. 4.

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ſomewhat too boldly carpeth the eſtimation of ſoe noble a Pope, whom in his epiſtles hee often commendeth, excuſeth, defendeth.

But to the end (reader) you may vnderſtand that it is dangerous to ſpeake euill, and rashly to iudge of the high Bishop, heare (I pray you) the true defence of Pope Alexander, without which it is vnworthy I should inſerte all this in the Chronickles of the Church of Rome. For I shall not diſcharge the parte I vndertake for bringing to light the truth of the hiſtory, if I shall not vntwyning ſet it free out of the intangling errors and falſe aſſertions, with which hee and his actes are wronged, while thinges layd vniuſtly to his charge are accepted as certaine, without a dilligent examination of the truth, which I will make appeare out of the epiſtles of diuers perſons, whereby theſe reportes blazed abroade by Iohn of Oxeforde will bee reiected as vntrue. Marke therefore reader.

You haue ſeene for the ſpace allmoſt of foure yeeres, beeing fully three yeeres and a halfe, the Controuerſy of the Eccleſiaſticall liberty betweene the king and Saint Thomas, and together with him the Church of Rome, beeing toſſed in delaye, daylie declyning to the worſe, the king or Bishoppes neuer condeſcending to ſubmitt themſelues to the iudgment of the Archbishop of Canterbury, from whom (as you haue heard) the king together with the Bishoppes appealed to the Roman Sea, and by their deputyes proſecuted the ſame Appeale, deſiring by them that a Legate a Latere might bee ſent into England. In which petition of theyrs, it is firſt a falshood, that (as it is affirmed) the king requeſted onely a Legate for England, which was the Cardinall of Papia: For heare the ſame Saliſbury: Our king (ſaith hee) requireth that Williã of Papia, and another Cardinall bee ſent as Legates,

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&c. And the Pope fearing, leaſt one of them, beeing the kings frind, there might come any damage thereby to the contrary parte, his Holines choſe ſuch an one to bee his aſſociate, as by his eminent vertue might withſtand him, if hee would attempt any thing againſt right and equity, whom alſo hee knew to fauor the Bishop of Poytiers, treating of both the Legates, in his letter to ſaint Thomas wryteth: to this William of Papia (ſayth hee) as it is reported, my Lord Oddo the Deacon Cardinal de Carcere Tulliano is aſſociate, and I wish it ſoe, for a fauorable and well diſpoſed ſtarre may by coniunction, if it cannot extinguish the malice of an euill affected ſtarre, yet at the leaſt temper and extenuate the ſame.

Moreouer that his Holines deſigned the ſame legates not to decyde the controuerſy (as it was publickly reported) according to Iohn of Saliſburyes ſaying, but to compoſe a peace, the letters of the ſame Pope Alexander, yet extant, doe playnly witnes. But to the end ſaint Thomas might reſt ſecure of any feare from the ſayde William the Legate, Alexander aboue all other thinges made him promiſe not to attempt any matter againſt the Archbishop of Canterbury: I will relate the very wordes of Pope Alexander in his epiſtle to Saint Thomas: and truly (ſayth hee) you may remayne abſolutely confident in the Cardinalls. neyther ought you any way to doubt of the mentioned William, becauſe wee haue ſtreyghtly and preciſely inioyned him, to employ his whole power to worke your peace, and hee made vs ſoe faithfull a promiſe thereof, that wee haue no doubt of the contrary. And more, that hee might very much preuayle in procuring the peace, the matter beeing throughly conſidered, by reaſon of his intire familiarity with the king, the ſame Saliſbury conceaued in his mynde, and expreſſed

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in wryting to the Legate in these wordes: but in the meane tyme, I hope, this your familiarity with the king, which to many is soe suspicious, will bee profitable to the Church, necessary to you, gaynfull to him, and to vs glorious.

Beesides this Alexander endeauouring to make a peace betweene the Archbishop and the king, commanded not (as the kings, messinger lying fouly sayd) that this should bee accomplished with detriment to the Churches liberty, but contrarywise would haue aboue all thinges a speciall prouision for the Ecclesiasticall lawes; soe as in this pointe saint Thomas had no cause of doubt, that the liberty of the Church should heerein sustaine any damage at all, as in the same letters the sayd Bishop deliuered. Againe that there was nothing granted by Alexander to the Bishoppes excommunicated by saint Thomas (as Oxeford falsly affirmed) but that at the houre of death they might bee absolued, with a caution confirmed by oath, as the letters which his Holines wrote by the same Legates to the Bishops of England doe manifest. Neither yet was that true which with excessiue boasting Oxeforde did lying spread abroade among all men, how the king was exempted from the Archbishoppes authority, but that his power ouer the king was only suspended while the Legates treated as the peace, in like case and space as there is betweene aduerse armys an abstinence of warre during a parlee. And if peace tooke no place, that Saint Thomas might then vse his authority against the king, Alexander in his letters sent to S. Thomas thus playnly declareth: [But if perchance (which God forbid) the king shall determine with a hardened harte to persist in his obstinacy, nor yet will, as now, yeeld any thing to the will of Allmighty God, our admonition, and his owne honor in his reconciliation to

Cod. Vat. lib. 2. epist. 3.

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you and yours, with the peace of the Church: If afterwardes you thinke conuenient to execute the seuerity of a due reuenge vpon the kingdome, and the persons of the same subiecte to your iurisdiction, bee it either in regard of your Primacy, or Legantyne power, you shall reuenge the iniuryes offered to your selfe and your Church (as you shall thinke fitting) with reseruation of grauity, and maturity of iudgment becomming your Pontificall dignity.]

And to the pointe, that Pope Alexander dealte bountifully with Iohn of Oxeforde, the kinges messinger, at his comming to Rome, beestowing on him the Deanry of Salisbury, which beeing extorted from his Bishop, hee surrendred vp into te handes of his Holines, and that done, the wretched and altogether vnworthie man, receaued the same from the Pope againe, For the Popes excuse heerein, Iohn of Poytiers wryteth thus in his letters to saint Thomas: [Iohn of Oxeforde woon the more grace in the Popes sight, in regard hee suggested to his Holines, that a peace might bee concluded beetweene you and the king, if there were but one to deale faithfully in the busines: and promised to doe his owne vttermost endeauor for the performance thereof.] And addeth, hee was absolued from his excommunication by the Pope, in respect hee abiured the kinges customes, the very ground of all this terrible discord. Thus therefore by reason of the faire promises and a false pretence of continuing a peace, Pope Alexander was deceaued by him, who is found a notorious lyar in this, that vpon his returne hee publickly reported, how by priuiledge of his Holines, hee was exempted from the iurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury. For, that the Archbishoppes authority was only suspended, during the continuance of the Legantine power, and no way abrogated, what beefore

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is ſayd doth playnly showe. And Pope Alexander wryting the next yeere to the Legates againſt this Iohn of Oxeforde, who had diſpercing ſowed ſuch falshoodes in the myndes of all, commanded him to bee punished with a moſt ſeuere iudgment. And theſe letters shall alſo in their proper place bee recyted.

All this haue wee ſayd to wash away the fowle ſlanders which Iohn of Oxeforde bruted in England againſt Pope Alexander, and which Iohn of Salisbury too credulous relished ſoe ill for a tyme: for although (as you haue ſeene) hee ſpoake hardly againſt Pope Alexander, yet afterwardes againe hee commendeth, and in parte excuſeth him, in regarde what hee did, was vpon conſtraint of neceſſity. For writing to ſaint Thomas hee ſayth: Neither haue I any greate confidence of the Courte of Rome, whoſe manners and neceſſitys are well knowne to vs: Pope Alexander indeede is a holy and iuſt man, but his extremityes are ſoe many, and ſoe greate is the couetouſnes and wicked dealing of the Romãs, as ſometymes hee ſtretcheth to the vtermoſt of his power, and procureth by diſpenſation that which is ſayd to bee profitable to the common wealth, allthough vnprofitable to Religion. And againe neyther bee yee diſcomforded, if yee ſee in the Roman Courte ſomewhat worthy of reprehenſion, remẽbring in the Goſpell, how the faithfull are commanded not to imitate the workes of them, who ſit in the chaire of Moyſes, but to followe their doctrine. But hee corrected abſolutely this and all the reſt of his laſt letters written vpon this occaſion, after better diſcouery of the buſines, handling the whole matter from the very firſt comming of this moſt vilde man Iohn of Oxeforde, and wryting to Myles Bishop of Moryn in this ſorte: If any man will dilligently conſider the

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preceedinges at Rome, hee shall apparantly see, how the Pope, albeeit circumuented, yet neuertheles most faythfully handled the cause of the Church and vs. For the often recyted Iohn of Oxeford beeing in the end vpon his oath according to the custome absolued, swoare againe publickly, that hee did nothing in the aforesayd Conuentickle of Scysmaticks, against the faith of the Church, and the honor and commodity, of my Lord the Pope; And I would to God hee had not bin periured. Afterwardes hee deliuered letters of commendation and Petition from the king, wherin was written, that credit should bee giuen to him in all thinges, as to the king himselfe: Then boulstred out with soe greate an authority, hee submitteth the cause in controuersy betweene the king and the Archbishop for the wicked customes, to the arbitriment of his Holines, that at his pleasure they should bee either confirmed or cancelled, and binding this also with another oath, hee preuayled soe farre, as the Pope yeelded to send his Legates to this purpose.] Thus sayth Salisbury. whereby you may see, that a man promising soe much, and that not idely, but fortifyed with the letters of a king, and mayntayned with oathes, ought not to passe vnrewarded from the Pope; which reward his Holines beestowed, as the same Author witnesseth in the Epistle next ensuing; for hee sent him backe into England endowed with a Ring, and preferred to the benefice of a Deanry; whereupon hee grew to falsify with more confidence, and had far better occasions to coulor his deceyptes, And I would to God I could excuse as well as the Pope, some of the Cardinalls, who were corrupted with golde; but God forbid I should purge with excuse that which deserueth exceeding reprehension; yea I haue euer sayde, these deade flyes loosing the odor of their oyntmentes, are

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to bee proſecuted with moſt bitter inuectiues.]

The king of England endeauoreth to corrupt the Cardinalls with bribes.

The king of England ſent therefore by the Embaſſadors to Rome certayne poundes of gould, to bee diſtributed among the Cardinalls: Many entertayned fowly theſe giftes; others to their great commendation abſolutely refuſed them, beecauſe they beelieued theſe rewardes of kinges turned to the reproach of the Apoſtolicke Sea: which aſſuredly ſoe happened, for by reaſon heereof were rayſed moſt greeuous ſcandalls, and the face of the holy Church, the ſpouſe of Chriſt was much darkened; for marke (I pray you) heereupon the iuſt complaynte of ſaint Thomas vttered in his epiſtle to the Archbiſhop of Mountes. [I ſpeake (ſayth hee) with greife a thing much to bee lamented, the Citty of greate renowne, which hath conquered allmoſt the whole world, is ſurpryſed, beeing ouerthrown with the couetouſnes of earthly fauor, and ſhee who could neuer perish with the ſwoard, yeeldeth thorough the infection of an accidentall poyſon. O greife! in her fall is euery where found the loſſe of the Churches liberty for the grace of a temporall commodity. A breach is made to her ruine by the ſubtell ſleyghtes of riches, ſhee practiſeth diſhoneſtly as a harlot, who lyeth openly in the ſtreete to the luſt of many, euery mighty man committeth fornication with her.] Theſe and other the like with great bitternes of his mynde did Saint Thomas euen now at the poynte of his glorious Martyrdome, poure out into the eares of his faithfull frind, vpon occaſion of this gould, ſo ſent by the king of England, to corrupte the Courte of Rome. Heare you alſo the complayntes of the Biſhop of Poytiers wryting there of to Lumbards in this ſorte. The king moreouer vaunted; that hee had ſuch frindes in the Courte, as could quashe all the attemptes of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and were ſo diligent

Ibidem epiſt. 21.

Ibidem epiſt. 32.

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so diligent in following all his busines, as the Arbishop could not deliuer a petion, nor obtayne the least fauor, but hee had present intelligence thereof by his frindes; yea wee knowe theyre names whose assistance he vseth, and haue lately dealt in courte, that the cause of God and the power of Christ might be soulde at a vylde rate, neither truly was there a multitude in the commutation of them; and was it possible there should bee such ounces of golde as could enforce them to fall, who should haue bine the very pillars of the Church? And the king is soe puffed vp with this tryumph, as they cannot conceale in his Pallace, but must needes blab what Cardinalls they were who would not taste of that pestiferous and infamous gold, and on the other syde who they were who disposed of the money, in what sorte it should bee distributed, to some more, to some lesse, according as euery of them did more or lesse deserue in this worke of the subuersion of iustice.] Thus wryteth hee of the matter.

The Cardinalls who abhorred these bribes. Ibidem epist. 54.

Concerning those who scorned theyre gold, among others were Humbald and Hiacinth most renowned Cardinalls of the sacred Roman Church, the frindes of saint Thomas of whom an epistle is extant written by the Saint wherin is most honorable mention made of their contempt of gold; because to their eternall commendation, they not only forbare to touch the kind of Englands, golde, but also bountefully and charitably bestowed their owne on the English being poore banished men suffering for the Churches cause. For Saint Thomas sayth: [others comfort vs with wordes, but your bounty releeueth vs with your substance and your workes, you haue lamented our misfortune and the Churches calamity, and esteemed heere as your owne, the miserys of the poore banished for Christ; the most iust Iudge render you in that day

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the rewardes of your brotherly Charity, and the fruites of your true cõpaſſion, which promiſeeth to the mercifull abundance of mercy: you haue not wandred after gold, with the bayte whereof, to our exceeding hurte, and the confuſion of the Apoſtolike Sea, ſome haue bin caught; by whoſe procurement the king of England hauing receaued the Apoſtolicall letters, which hee cauſed to bee read in the ſtreetes of either kingdome, vaunted that hee had tryumphed ouer the Church of Rome, nor without cauſe, for hee hath obtayned his deſire: and now at his owne pleaſure hee maketh hauocke in the Church of God without controulment of any, hoping my lord the Pope (which God forbid) or my ſelfe ſhould, according to his owne wish, in the meane tyme dye.] And afterwardes hauing rehearſed his lamentable diſtreſſes, hee wryteth thus againe of the gold beſtowed at Rome: [our Lord knoweth who are his, and the Church now partly knoweth who are not hers: For the king of England boaſteth openly, who are his, neither is it concealed to how many, and to whom his gould was giuen, but his bounteous giftes were the ſpoyles of vs, the ſpoyles of the poore of the crucifyed, the ſpoyles of Chriſt himſelfe, yea ſoe great was the leaſt portion of their ſpoyles, And therefore thus, becauſe the king heereupon ſacriligiouſly vſurpeth the moſt ample reuenues of the Archbiſhopricke of Canterbury; wee cannot (I ſay) nor ought to excuſe theſe offences ſoe foule and deteſtable, for who are in this ſorte enthralled with the royall golde, are become therby leaden, and in eſtimation deformed; beeing for their lenity flexible, they are in the burden of their conſcience heauy, to God hatefull, expoſed to the deriſion of men, and to bee troaden vnder foote as ſalte wanting taſte, which is afterwards of no value. Deſtroy them (ô God)

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before they infect the holy Church, which is without spott or wrickle. Confound them (ô God) beefore they beetray the Church into the handes of the Layety: let these errors of their Predeceſſors, bee a greater example and warning to their Succeſſors.

ANNO DOMINI 1168.

The yeere 1168. together with the first Indiction now followeth; in the beeginning of which yeere, and the Kalends of Ianuary, the Legates a latere deſigned to goe from the Citty to the king of England, vndertooke theyr iourney; the exacte tyme of this their voyage is ſignifyed in the letters written by Iohn Biſhop of Poytiers to Saint Thomas in theſe wordes: theſe two Legates, I meane William of Papia Preiſt Cardinall of the tytell of Saint Peter ad vincula, and Oddo Deacon Cardinall of Saint Nicholas in carcere Tulliano, paſſed on their way in the Kalends of Ianuary making haſte to our partes: but although they departed ioyntly together out of the Citty, yet went they not one, but ſeuerall wayes, deuyded in their trauailing vnto France, determining to meete together at the Citty of mount Peſſulan.

Legates ſent to the King of England.

Cod. Vrt. lib 1. epiſt. 165.

But beefore wee proceede farther in the hiſtory, let vs ſee what letters Pope Alexander deliuered to the Legates, that you may perceaue to what purpoſe hee ſent them: the letters of the Legacy are yet extant, of which ſome were directed to S. Thomas, others to the king of England, which heere wee are to recyte out of the ſame written booke, add firſt theſe letters to S. Thomas in theſe wordes.

Eib. 2. epiſt. 1.

The Popes letters to S. Thomas.

[That wee haue not often with our letters viſited your owne perſon, the reaſon (as you may vnderſtand) was in regarde wee haue bin often carefull to make

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knowne to you by messingers and word of mouth such thinges, as wee thought not conuenient to commit to wryting: But now wee would haue your discretion to bee certifyed, that wee with all our harty affection desiring your peace, haue sent our beeloued sonnes William of the Titell of Saint Peeter *ad vincula* Preist with Oddo of Saint Nicholas in carcere Tulliano Deacon, Cardinalles, vnto our most deere sonne in Christ the famous king of England, to exercise the office of Legates, in his Dominions on this syde the seas; which is done especially to make a finall conclusion and agreement beetweene you and the king, and by the grace of God to bring all to a charitable end. Wherfore in regarde wee esteeme your peace to bee all one with that of the Church, neither doe for any cause more desire the same, then in that wee suppose the vniuersall Church shall receaue greater vtility therby, wee doe by these our Apostolicall letters entreate, admonish, counsell and command your brotherhood carefully to consider, how dangerously the state of this presente tyme standeth, and how much the Church committed to your charge wanteth your presence and councell, and therefore to endeauor a peace, and inclyne your mynde and will to lay a sure foundation of concord beetweene you and the a foresayde king, as far as may stand with the reputation of you and your Church.

And although all thinges doe not heerein succeede according to your hartes desire, yet wincke at them for a season, intending by godes grace in processe of tyme to reduce to the former state such matters as are to bee amended. Neither yet in regarde of the worde, which according to your petition wee signifyed to our most deere sonne in Christ the renowned king of Fraece, doe you in any case fall of or estrange your

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mynde or will from peace, and the benefit of concord, so long as in the couenãtes thereof you may preserue (as wee haue sayde) the honor of your selfe & Church vntouched; because you may heereafter by litle and litle with discretion roote out many misdemeanors, which if you should at this instant attempt, would bee matters of greate moment. And concerning these two Cardinalls, you may bee confident in them; nether ought you any way to mistrust the aforesayde William, because wee haue streyghtly and seuerely commanded him to bend his whole power to the compassing of your peace, and this hath hee so faithfully promised, as wee can neuer misdoubt the contrary. Moreouer wee entreate and admonish your brotherhood, that you would carefully deale on our beehalfe with our beeloued sonne that noble Earle of Flanders, and instantly perswade him, that considering the necessity of vs and the Church, hee would endeauor with his liberality somewhat to succor vs; for wee doe not thinke hee can doe a more acceptable seruice to Allmighty God, then to labor at this present to comforte vs with the worthy supply of his bounty for the defence of the Churches liberty.] Thus wrote Pope Alexander vnto Saint Thomas; and to king Henry of England by the same Legates in this sorte.

[Yeelding gladly to the requestes of your Maiestie and desiring as far, as with God and his iustice; wee can to satisfy your will in all thinges, and showe due respecte to you and your honor, wee haue thought good to sende vnto your excellency, as Legates into your dominions on this syde the seas, our beeloued sonnes William of the tytell of Saint Peter *ad vincula* Preist, with Oddo of Saint Nicholas in carcere Tulliano Deacon, Cardinalles, men of learning discretion vertue, beeing of great authority in the Church of

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God, and well affected to you and your kingdome, and whom, among the reſt of our brethren wee eſteeme as very deere aud acceptable to vs, giuing them abſolute power to vnderſtand thoſe cauſes which in former letters wee haue declared to you, with all other matters likewiſe which ſhall ſeeme conuenient for them to knowe; whom wee haue in all things authorized as vice gerents ſo far in our ſteede, as euer the Church of Rome was accuſtomed heeretofore to conſtitute them or any other Legates of the Apoſtolike Sea. Wherefore wee doe by our Apoſtolical letters requeſt, admonish, and in our lord exhorte your Highnes that you will honorably and benignly receaue, and (as it beeſeemeth your royall dignity) courteouſly entertayne them, in ſuch ſorte as is meete for men of that eminency, and Legates of the Apoſtolicall Sea; Soe as the holy Church of Rome may in your beehauiour to her ſonnes acknowledge your ancient deuotion to her, and your Maieſtie together with the landes committed to your gouerment, through the goodnes of God, reape thereby encreaſe of all thinges: and for thoſe matters which they ſhall propoſe to your excellency on our behalfe, wee doe wish you ſoe diligently to admitt, and promptly to obey them: as our lord and his Church, may bee therin worthily honored, and you with the realmes ſubiect to your regiment, may alſo thereby gayne abundance of benefits, with rewardes from God, and prayſe and glory beefore men. Shewe not the coppy of this letter to any but only Maſter Gunter, becauſe I haue paſſed therupon as ſtricte a promiſe to Maſter Walter, as hee deſired.] Thus wrote the Pope to the king, ſending likewiſe an other letter of the ſame effecte to the Bishops of England, which beeginneth: [it is reported to our eares, &c. Dated the laſt yeere in the Kalends of December.

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By all which is euidently apparant, that Pope Alexander perſwaded a peace, in ſuch ſorte, as no detriment might therupon accrewe to the Church.

Pope Alexander did wryte withall by the ſame Legates to the king of France, to whom among other thinges hee openeth the deſire of his mynde for honoring Saint Thomas with all worthy reſpectes, and decreeing to this holy man the Legantyne authority ouer the whole Church of France, if the Bishoppes of that kingdome were ſoe pleaſed. The letters of his Holines were thus indighted.

Amonge other renowned tokens of your magnificence and deuotion, wee eſteeme as cheifeſt, that you haue with ſo many and ſoe great honors entertayned our reuerent brother Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, a man moſt religious, diſcreete and vertuous, and to vs, and the vniuerſall Church in euery reſpect moſt deere and acceptable: and that out of your bouty you haue vouchſafed plētifully to beeſtowe ſoe large and royall benefittes out of your humanity on him, for which wee render your Maieſtie the greateſt and worthyeſt thanks wee may, and for your clemency therin commend you with moſt exceeding prayſes in our lord. And this as it is moſt gratefull to God, to whom in his perſon you haue conſecrated the ſame, ſoe wee accept it as deerely as if you had donne it to our ſelues; and becauſe with all our affections wee deſire the peace of the ſame Archbishop, wee haue thought conuenient to ſend our beeloued ſonnes William of the tytell of ſaint Peter *ad vincula*, and Oddo of Saint Nicholas *in carcere Tulliano* Cardinalls, to our moſt deere ſonne in Chriſt Henry famous king of England, to reforme by the helpe of God all matters betweene the ſayd king, and Archbishop, indifferently for the honor of them both, and for the concluſion of perfect

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concord and peace, and that they may in the ſame kinges landes on this ſyde of the ſeas heare and vnderſtand all arayſing controuerſyes, and there inioy the Legantine authority of the Apoſtolike Sea.

Wherefore by our Apoſtolicall letters wee beeſeech, admonish, and in our lord exhorte your Maieſtie that for the reuerence of the Church of God, and the honor of Saint Peeter and vs, you would effectually doe your parte as well with the ſayd king as Archbishop, and carefully labor in ſuch ſorte as to the honor of God and his Church, and likewiſe to the benefit and commodity of them both, they may frindly and peaceably agree together and bend their myndes and willes wholly therunto, ſoe it bee donne without impeachmēnt of the Archbishops and the Churches reputation. And if by endeauour and labor of the ſame Cardinalles with your trauell, they may returne to peace and agreement, the Church, which next vnder God is ſupported with your ſpeciall aſſiſtance, shall receaue thereby no ſmall encreaſe, and you in the bleſſed retribution of the iuſt obtayne of Allmighty God for this a ſpeciall reward. But if otherwiſe (which God forbid) they cannot accorde, ſoe it may ſtand with your royall likeing and good pleaſure, it would bee to vs in euery reſpect a ſingular pleaſure, and very gratefull and acceptable, if it may bee without great ſcandall of the perſons of your kingdome, that wee might endowe the ſayd Arbishop with a particular honor aboue others, and make him our Legate vice-gerent in thoſe your partes, and therefore doe moſt earneſtly entreate your Highnes, if hee cannot a cheyue a peace with reſeruation of the honor of himſelfe and the Church, beeing the thing wee moſt deſire, then that you will with all ſpeede ſignify vnto vs your mynd heerein, and in the meane while conceaue this as an exceeding

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secret.] Thus wrote the Pope to the king of France. The Legates therefore as soone as they touched Frãce, presently saluted saint Thomas with their letters, and William did in this sorte wryte vnto him.

[Although thorough the variable alteration of tymes, for doubt least the Church of Rome, beeing distempered with a Scysme, should sustayne the greater damages, wee seeme in the conceipts of some to decline from you to the aduerse parte; hee knoweth notwithstanding, who is the searcher of hartes how wee conserue still in our breastes a tender affection vnto you. For truly, as to our remembrance, wee haue signifyed often to your wisedome, wee haue with all the care wee could labored to eschewe the suspicion of the king of England, to the end wee might in processe of tyme bee a more effectuall meane for composing a peace beetween him and you, and with all retayne still the deuotion and zeale of soe greate a prince to the Apostolike Sea. And beeing now designed together with our reuerent brother Oddo a Cardinall Deacon to passe into his Signioryes, for determination of the matters in controuersy beetweene you and him, in such sorte as wee shall see most expedient for the Church of God, wee exhorte earnestly and perswade your discretion, that setting a syde, as much as in you lyeth, those thinges which are accustomed to beeget the causes of greater dissention, you would with dilligent care bee attẽtiue to that which can best procure a concord. For wee will bend our myndes, as much as by Gods grace wee may, to deale without any respect of persõs for this peace and your profit, leauing nothing vndone, as the proofe God willing shall make playne, which wee can possibly effect, for the honor of God and his Church.] Thus wrote William the Cardinal and Legate to saint Thomas: who answered as followes. *Cod. Vat. lib. 2. epist. 9.*

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To his reuerent Lord and freind worthy of loue Vvilliam by the grace of God Preist Cardinall of the tytell of Saint Peter ad vincula and Legate of the Apostolike Sea, Thomas by the same grace the humble seruante of the Church of Canterbury wisheth health and courage against the insolency of Princes.

Ibidem epist. The haster letters of Thomas to William the Legate.

Weeyeelde thankes *to your charity for vouchsafing now at the last to visite with your excellencyes letters our poore afflicted person, which is measured of many by the state of our present fortune, not by what is paste: yet God may heereafter out of his mercy, when it pleaseth him, and to him shall seeme conuenient, restore vs agayne to better. In that you say, whereas many suppose you are not soe throughly affected to vs the reason heereof is the Churches greate vtility, least otherwise beeing held in suspicion by the king, hee should bee therby lesse denoted to the sacred Roman Church, and not soe much enckline to composition of a peace with vs: God the searcher of hartes best knoweth, and the euent of thinges will declare. If at this instant you come into his dominions (as your letters signify) for decyding the controuersyes beetweene vs and him in such sorte as to the Church you shall see most profitable, it is a thing possible; But wee are of opinion, that wee certainly knowe to what intent you are come, and how wee aught to receaue you: whereupon wee desire in our lord most instantly to exhorte your wisedame, for to beehaue your selfe in this busines, as therby God may bee honored, the Church relieued, and wee restored to glory amyd the people, and in our nation. If any fauor or peace fall to vs by your labor and industry, wee shall therfore thanke God and your diligent care. And wee wish you*

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would weygh with a tender affection and compaſsion, how greate agreiuances wee and the Church of England haue ſuſtayned, and doe as yet endure, and how much the vniuerſall Church is impeached in our ſufferance. On this buſines we caſt the eyes of all, and all expect the concluſion thereof, the inſolency of Princes will eyther exalte their hornes, or as they worthily deſerue, bee ſuppreſſed. And I wish they may rather by this your comming ſuſtayne loſſe, then recouer ſtrength. God ſend you now and euer well to fare, that wee and the Church may thereby fare the better. Thus ſaint Thomas.

But in regard William the Legate not only in his letters to ſaint Thomas and others, but alſo in wordes did openly vaunte, that hee came as a Iudge of this controuerſye, and did vſually with greater pride and inſolency vnaduiſedly boaſte in this ſorte: ſaint Thomas ſending a meſſinger to Rome, did preſently complayne thereof to Pope Alexander by his letters; wherin after hee had firſt ſet beefore his eyes, howe far forth God had aſſiſted him in conquering the pryde of the Emperor, who was dreadfull to the whole world; hauing experienced thereby, that the helpe of Allmighty God was on his ſyde, for the defence of the Church againſt any Tyrants whatſomeuer, hee had now (as hee ſayde) learned not to feare. Then hee deſcendeth to William of Papia. [I would moreouer haue your Holines vnderſtand, that what wee dreaded is beefallen vs, and what wee foretould is now apparant, concerning the pryde and preſumption of the lord William of Papia; as you may well perceaue by theſe letters hee ſent vs inſtantly vpon his comming, from whom wee expected (according to the tenor of your mandate to my Lord the king of France, and vs) rather comforte for the recouery of peace, then confuſion for decyding of controuerſyes beetweene the

Saint Thomas complayneth to the Pope againſt William the Legate. Cod. Vat. lib. 2. epiſt. 22.

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king of England and vs. For hee is not the perſon, vnto whoſe authority in this caſe wee ought to be ſubiect, eſpecially ſince hee was rather procured to come vpon the kinges inſtant intreaty to you, then any way compelled or ſent by you. Wee ſuppoſe truly it is not agreable to lawe, wee ſhould bee enthralled to the iudgment or examination of him, who ſeeketh to make his commodity of our blood: let him not therfore goe about to purchaſſe to himſelfe, by the prize of our liſe, the name and glory of iniquity.] Thus hee wrote, becauſe (as it appeareth out of other letters) it was helde for certayne, that the king of England had promiſed William the Archbishoppricke of Canterbury, if hee could depriue Thomas of the ſame. Hee proceedeth. [Wee doe therfore earneſtly beeſeech you (father) if as yet you haue care of vs, to abrogate his authority at leaſte ſoe far as it concerneth vs and our cauſes in controuerſy.

But let vs ſee what Oddo the Deacon Cardinall the other Legate à Latere did wryte to Saint Thomas who ſignifyed ſomewhat, though not much, by letters of greate note, concerning his iourney, leauing matters of more ſecrecy to the relation of the meſſinger hee ſent, The letter hee wrote was thus.

To the worthyly beloued father, and his moſt deare brother, Thomas by the grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury, Oddo by the ſame grace Deacon Cardinall of the ſacred Roman Church and Legate of the Apoſtolike Sea ſendeth greeting.

The letter of Oddo the Legate to S. Thomas. Ibidem epiſt. 4.

Wee certifye your dearely beeloued ſelfe, that after our iourney vndertaken, vpon our Lord the Popes commandement, paſsing through hazardable places of exceeding greate danger, wee arriued in the end by the conduction

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of Allmighty God in Venice; our enemyes the Scysmatikes lying, on euery syde, in ambushments ready to intercept vs, whose snares by the fauor of God are broaken in peeces, and wee deliuered. And trauelling from Venice not couertly, but openly, with great ioy and comforte of our fryndes, through Marchia, Verona, and our natiue countrey Brixia (where wee made some long abroade) by Bergom ad Millane neere Nouaria; then by Vercelles not far from Taurin, wee attayned to Saint Michaelles de clusa, and thorough Prouince to Saint Gyles with safety vntouched, following thence our ready way to Mount Pessulan, where the lord William our frynde, whom our Lord the Pope assigned to bee our associate, coasting thorough other countryes, in such sorte, as wee suppose you haue hearde, gaue vs the meeting. And now proceeding on farther, wee send you this bearer our Chaplayne, whom wee would haue you credit as our selues beeing confident in whatsomeuer hee shall on our beehalfe relate vnto you: and whatsomeuer you will signifye backe agayne to vs, trust him therin, as you would trust your selfe. Thus wrote Oddo the Legate to saint Thomas. Who beefore hee receaued the same, or any way vnderstood of the Lord Oddos beeing in France, saluted him with this respectiue letter.

[Hearing the approach of your excellency, Christes banished flocke, our fellowes in exile, conceaued a meruellous ioy, and as if an Angell were sent frō heauen for the comforte of the Church, and ransoming of the Clergy, the whole congregation of Saintes with thankes-giuing tryumphed: And although your associate bee held in suspition by many, saying hee accepteth of persons and rewardes, and is an inward fauerer of our Lord the king, willing in all thinges to patronize his cause, and for vs together with the Church of God to kill and choake, yea make vs all his spoyle; *Ibidem epist* 18.

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The opinion neuertheles of your name, or, to speake more truly, of your vertues, shyneth soe bright as you are esteemed to haue with Moyses the Angell of our Lord, which is the holy Ghoste the forerunner in the lawe, who protecteth you euer, and suffereth you not to haue new Gods, whereby you should preferre either rewardes, person, or cause, before Allmighty God, &c.] But for his opinion of William, the other Legate, hee vttereth it afterwardes in these wordes. Many insult ouer vs, especially our aduersaryes, yea the Churches aduersaryes, saying truly, the Cardinall of Saint Peters chaynes is sent against vs, that Peter may by his meanes bee chayned againe.

Psalm. 78.

Now the reason why the Legates did not instantly vpon their comming into France, execute the office of their Legantyne authority for concluding a peace betweene the king and Saint Thomas, was the rysing of a war betweene the kinges of England and France, that hindred their designes, of which troublesome discorde Iohn of Salisbury wryteth to Iohn Bishop of Poytiers in this sorte. [The confusions of the two kingdomes with mighty earthquakes of imminēt dangers, haue long enforced mee to withhould my pen, and expect more conuenient tymes for wryting vnto you. For the tumultes of warre raging all the whole sommer out off the intercourse of Postes and a rebellion inkindled in the Citty of Rhemes, soe disturbed the Prouince, as a man could hardly passe in and out of the Citty, &c.] Hee treateth farther of the Ciuill warre of Rhemes, which neuer left till it came to the kinges themselues, vpon reporte whereof Pope Alexander: wrote thus to his Legates.

Cod. Vat. lib. 2. epist. 31.

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Alexander Bishop seruant of the seruantes of God to his beeloued sonnes William of Saint Peter ad vincula Preist; and Oddo of Saint Nicholas in carcere Tulliano Deacon Cardinalles, and Legates of the Apostolicke Sea sendeth greeting and Apostoliall benediction.

Ibidem epist. 34.

What exceedinge greate damages and discommodityes may befall to the vniuersall Church of God, and especially to the Romane, and the Church of the Easte, by reason of the discorde and dissention, which by the procurement of the enemy of mankinde is raysed betweene our deareste sonnes in Christ the renowned kinges of France and England, it beeseemeth vs in wisedome to consider, and somuch the more dilligently to bend our forces to extinguish thē the more wee dread (which God forbid) the greater dangers ensuing theron; and therfore by our Apostolicall letters wee admonish charge and command both your discretions, that yee endeauor by all meanes possible of your owne, and also by other Religious and graue men of either kingdome for restoring peace and concord betweene them, and that hereinyee bestowe all your labors and powers, and that yee haue in any case singular care not to determine any thing vpon the request and for the fauor of any one of them, whereby the other may bee scandalized or disturbed. Moreouer wee streighly forbid yee that neither yee nor any of yee presume to enter the kingdome of England, or manage the affayres of that dominion, and especially not to compasse, or any thing to ordeyne concerning the consecration of the Bishoppes, vnles our venerable brother Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury bee absolutely reconcyled to the afore sayd king of England; which wee hope and wholy trust may bee

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brought to passe by your industry and trauel, if God concurreth with all; For as wee perceaue by the letters of many iudicious men, there hath not bin a greater firebrand to inkindle insurrections and tumultes to the disturbance of the kinge of France with all his countrey, then the rumors which Iohn Deane of Salisbury vpon his returne from vs is sayde to haue dispersed in those partes.] Dated at Beneuent the eleauenth of the Kalends of Septemb. Thus truly the peace which was once or twise confirmed, was now cleane dissolued againe.

But let vs heere sett downe the conuenantes and conditions which were formerly contryued for conclusion of a peace betweene the two kinges, for these are signifyed in an epistle of Iohn of Salisbury sent to the Arch-Deacon of Excester, wherin is mentioned how in the assembly at Soisson they proceeded in this sorte concerning the Articles of peace now ratyfied anewe. The king of England ought to returne againe vnto the homage of the king of Frãce, and taking a corporal and publicke oathe to professe beefore all men, that for the Duchie of Normandy hee would serue him as his Lord in such wise as the Dukes his Predecessors were accustomed to serue the kinges of France. That hee was bound to resigne the Countyes of Anioue and Cenomane, together with the fealty of the peeres depending on these Signiories to Henry his sonne, who therupon was to doe homage and fealty to the king of France against all men, neither to owe any more to his father or brothers therfore, but what the consideration of nature or merit required. The king of France on the other syde did grant to Richard, sonne to the king of England the Duchie of Aquitayne on like conditions, giuing him his daughter in mariage without any dowry, who was neuertheles at her fathers pleasure to accept any free gifte towardes her mariage

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Theſe were the conditions of peace eſtablished at Eaſter: but vpon new occaſions broke out a rupture of warre againe; whereupon it was neceſſary the couenantes after our Lordes Aſcention should once more bee reuiued, ſauing the king of France would not bee obliged to beeſtowe his daughter on Richard the king of Englands ſonne. Thus is it there related at large. And yet although Pope Alexander (as hath bin ſayde) admonished by letters his Legates who were ſent into France, that ſetting other buſines a parte, they should only bend their forces to reunite the kinges ſoe rent in warres.; neuertheles one of the Legates William of Papia not performing (as it was beeſeeming) the office of a Mediator, far from indifferency, which declineth in affection to neither parte, beecame preſently an abſolute partaker with his frind Henry, king of England, whereupon the king of France was ſomewhat moued againſt him. There remayneth a perfect declaration of all this in wryting, contayning other thinges worth the knowledge, and is ſet downe in the letter of Iohn of Saliſbury ſent to Maſter Lumbard in theſe wordes. [When the kinges were come to the place appointed for conference. Ewdo earle of Britane and Rowland of Dynamen broke into many and greeuous cõplayntes to the king of Frãce againſt the king of England, but Edwo eſpecially beewayled that his daughter, who beeing yet a virgen, was deliuered into his handes for a pledge of peace, was afterwardes gotten with child by him, beeing therin a Traytor, adulterer and inteſtious. For the king and Ewdoes wife were borne of two ſiſters. But the Earle of Angolyſme and Marche with the Vice-count of Doway, Robert de Sylly, Geffrey de Licimacke, Henry de Rancore, and the Abbot of Caroffy pleaded for reſtitution of loſſes they incurred by the king of England and his

William the Legate taketh parte with the king of England. Cod. Vat. lib. 2. epiſt. 32.

The diſcourſe of the incounter of the two kinges.

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ſubiectes after the truce was taken. For the Abbot affirmed his Monaſtery appertayned to the Dominion of the king of France, ſince the tyme of Charles the greate who was their founder.] And a little after. [The king of France hauing there vnderſtood, that the Cardinall ſate in the king of Englandes counſell, incenſed ſayde: hee had not deſerued of the Church of Rome that the Cardinall (as hitherto hee had euer donne) should fauor his enemyes, and that at this inſtant hee woulde not receaue any thing for the loue hee bore to the Earle or Cardinall, but only for his owne right, &c.] And after many matters hee addeth: that the parlee of the kings beeing ended, the king of England with greate oſtentation vaunting shewed the Popes letters, whereby hee had enioyned Saint Thomas not to publish any excommunication or interdiction againſt the king or any of his English, ſoe long as the Legates remayned there, ſuſpending him thus from his authority, and boaſted that hee had with tryumph in a ſorte obtayned of the Church of Rome whatſomeuer hee deſired of the Pope. The procurer of theſe letters was one of the Legates William of Papia. Iohn of Saliſbury openeth and deliuereth the whole matter in his epiſtle to the Archdeacon of Exceſter, where wee thus reade.

It is apparant the letters, whereby the king gloryeth that hee hath reſtrayned my Lord of Canterburys power, vntill hee reconcyleth himſelfe vnto his royall fauor, were purchaſed by this deuice. The often mentioned Papia knewe how my Lord of Canterbury had obtayned authority from the Apoſtolike Sea to publish againſt the king the ſentence of excommunication, and againſt his kingdome the like of Interdiction, vnles the kinge within a tyme limited by the letters made full reſtitution to the Church of all thinges taken

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away with ample satisfaction: wherfore hee wrote to my lord the Pope beeseeching him with a lamentable petition, to proceede with the king in a milder fashion; otherwise the king to the shame and eternall disgrace of the Church of Rome (according as hee hath resolued if hee were more rigorously handled) would caste as well himselfe as his Associate Oddo into chaynes and prisons, where they should passe a life abridged with miseryes, yea a tyme more terrible then death it selfe, perswading thefore his Holines that the king intended thus to tyrannize, hee obtayned for contenting him, and continuing the free liberty of himselfe and his associate, whereby they might the easyer trauell in these affaires, this Apostolicall letter, which hath so much afflicted the myndes of you and all other true Catholikes.] Soe wryteth Salisbury of this letter so fraudulenty procured from his Holines by William of Papia one of the Legates.

By reason heereof the king of France grewe wonderfully discontented with Pope Alexander, which the elected Bishoppe of Charters perceauing, certifyed his Holines thereof, wryting thus of the king of France. [Among all the kingdomes of this world in my opinion there is not one which hath continually shewed a faith more sinceare, a charity more feruent, a deuotion more plentifull to the Sea Apostolike then that of France; There is not one among the kinges and princes, who obeyeth your Mandates with more humility, honoreth the Church and Ecclesiasticall persons with more deuotion, and defendeth them with greater endeauors then our most Christian king: There is not a Church which hath bin more seruiceable to the Church of Rome in all her distresses, then that of France. This Church of France and the king himselfe beecame sutors to your Holines

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on the beehalfe of my Lord of Canterbury, who hath for the Churches liberty, and defending the dignity of your Maieſtie continued a banished man in exile now fower whole yeeres. There pleadeth againſt him before your Holines a Tyrant, a perſecutor of the Church and to the kingdome of France open enemy, whoſe iniquity is notorious to all men, And yet notwithſtanding, which I am ashamed to ſpeake, and greiue to ſee, malice hath hetherto preuayled in vanity. For why when as hee lately came to a parlee with the moſt Chriſtian king, where by the mediation of the Earle of Flanders, who inuited my Lord of Canterbury thither, there was earneſt endeauoring to renew a peace to the Church, hee cauſed to bee read in the hearing of his Bishoppes and Peeres the Apoſtolicall letters, wherin was decreede that the aforeſayde Canterbury should not publish any ſentence againſt him or his land, nor yet any way moleſt any perſon vnder his Dominion, untill hee were reconcyled to the king. Vpon the hearing whereof the moſt Chriſtian king was confounded, and the whole realme together with all the children of the Church conceaued exceeding greife, to ſee a iuſt man, a reuerent Bishoppe ſuſpended without cauſe, and that there proceeded from the Apoſtolike Sea a wryting that would proue ſoe pernicious a Preſident.] Thus wrote William the Elect of Charters, whoſe ſingular commendation, Iohn of Saliſbury in his letter to Iohn Bishope of Poytiers ſetteth forth in theſe wordes. [A man aſſuredly of greate hope, of high fame, of eminent authority.] And a little after. [There is not in the Clergy of France (I ſperke it from my harte) who excelled him for wiſedome and eloquence.] Moreouer the king of France ſent letters importing as much to his Holines. And ſaint Thomas himſelfe hath his letters yet extant which hee wrote to

The king of England vaunteth of the ſuſpēſion of S Thomas from proceeding againſt him.

Cod Vat. hb 2. epiſt. 60.

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Manfred the Cardinall, to Bernard Bishop of Portua, and to Humbald and Hiacinth Cardinalles, all tending to that purpose. But this concerning the suspencion was graunted by the Pope, before hee vnderstood the aforesayde deceiptes of Iohn of Oxeforde, which beeing once discouered, hee was incensed with such a zeale against this trechery, that hee suspended presently the Legates from approaching to the king, and with his letters comforted Saint Thomas, all which is witnessed in the letters of Iohn of Salisbury to Syluester, where first hee wryteth of the most magnificent intertaynement of saint Thomas by the king of France in these wordes: [The most Christian king of France receaued my Lord of Canterbury at Senon with royall magnificence in the Church of S. Columb, and in all respectes doth soe honor and reuerence him, as beeseemeth the Christ or anoynted of our Lord to bee entertayned by a most Christian man: yea in the eyes of that most faithfull Prince (as himselfe confesseth) the dayes seeme few and the expences small in comparison of the great loue which hee beestoweth in the seruice of the Preist of Christ and of this Apostolicall man; and therefore this faith which with humility hee practiseth, I beeseech God with worthy retribution to rewarde, whose bounty it is that liuing in the middest of his enemyes without blood or war hee prospereth in all thinges, and (which most highly hee esteemeth) is beloued and greatly respected by his subiectes, as Obededon the Gethean vpon receauing the Arcke of God found the fruites of a diuine benediction in the fertility of his hand-maydes and flockes, together with the multiplying of his whole possession: and as Olela for receauing the same Arcke being cast out of the Temple of our Lord by Achaz obtayned in the silence of the Bishoppes and Preistes the

Ibid. in epist. 52.

Ibidem epist. 54.

Ibid epist. 55

Ibid epist. 56

2. *Reg.* 6.

2. *Paral.* 34. & 35. *ibidem.* 2

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grace of Propheſy: This moſt Chriſtian king receauing into his realme the Church of Rome in the perſon of Pope Alexander, had by his wife a ſonne, and (by Gods grace) heyre of his faith and kingdome, a thing which aboue all others he moſt earneſtly deſired, and now for his charity to the afflicted Church of England hee confidently expecteth an other reward, which God of his goodnes giue him. My lord the Pope hath of late as well by meſſage as letters recomforted the Archbishoppe of Canterbury, and I would to God the world vnderſtood with what ſleyghtes and deuices the notorious ſwearer procured that, whereof the Aduerſaryes of the Church doe ſoe glorioufly vaunte.] And a littel after. Theſe thinges are yet vpon the neceſſity of obedience concealed from the world, but our hope is that all will bee shortly published, beecauſe (aswee certainly heare) the comming of the Legates: which hath by them binne ſoe gladly expected, is now ſuſpended, or rather fruſtrated, vpon the diſcouery of Oxeforde the ſwearers falshood. Thus Salisbury.] Yet indeede the comming of the Legates to the king of England, beeing for a tyme ſuſpended, was not ſuffered to proceede vntill almoſt the later end of Autumne.

But Pope Alexander receauing ſoe many complaintes by the letters of ſundry perſons, for ſuſpending Saint Thomas, ſomewhat moued thereat, wryting to the Legates ſignifyed, how hee nothing at all abrogated the authority of Saint Thomas, but rather ſuſpended the power of the Legates themſelues from intermedling any way as iudges in decyding theſe controuerſyes, For the letters hee ſent to the Legates à latere: Dated 9. Maij are theſe.

After your departure came heauy tydinges to our eares, how our beecloued ſonne Iohn Deane of Saliſ-

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bury publickly declared, that in regarde wee exempted Bishoppes and other Eccleſiaſticall and tẽporall perſons of the kingdome of England, from the Iuriſdiction and authority of our reuerent brother Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, wee did all this to ſatisfie the will and pleaſure of the king of England, and to depoſe and condemne the Archbishoppe, and that wee ſent yee purpoſely to that end. It is alſo inſinuated to vs, that Iohn Cunim of Oxeforde shewed to Guydo the Antipope of Crema all the letters hee procured of vs, whereupon the Archbishop beeing confounded with shame and greife, our moſt dearly beeloued ſonne in Chriſt Lewes the renowned king of France together with his Princes through theſe reportes are very much troubled and extreamly moued, for although it was ſuggeſted to vs by many and made in a ſorte to ſeeme credible that the aforeſayde Iohn did only, and ſo faithfully labor for the honor and aduancement of the Archbishoppe with his Church, and for the liberty of the ſame, pretending that at his returne home hee would with his labor and induſtry procure the deliuery of Eccleſiaſticall perſons from reſtraint of impriſonment, which they endured vpon the kinges Commitment: and laſt allbeeit the fore mentioned Iohn ſignifyed to vs by his letter how the king in the preſence of many did publickly ſay, Hee would conſerue vntouched to the Clergie of England the ſelfe ſame libertyes which they had in the raigne of his Grand-father king Henry: yet neuertheles in regarde the fame heereof is ſoe farre ſpread, as it cauſeth our good name in thoſe partes to bee conſumed with infamy; wee admonish and command your wiſedomes, that yee haue inſtantly a ſpeciall care to recomforte the ſayd Archbishoppe with your letters, and clearing his mynd from all ſorrowe and ſuſpicion, yee endeauor by

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all meanes to reconcyle him to the king and worke a perfect peace among them, and that hereein yee ſpend all the care and diligence yee poſſibly can, prouyded all wayes that yee preſerue pure and vntouched the ancient lawes and libertyes belonging to him and his Church, neither doe yee any thing elſe of importance within the kinges principalityes; enter not in any caſe into his kingdome, although himſelfe doth neuer ſoe much entreate yee, vnles the Archbiſhop bee firſt accorded vnfaynedly with him, becauſe it will contract to yee and vs a wonderfull infamy; whereby the voyce of the people will rent in peeces your honor with ſlanderous detractions; but for Iohn Cumyn if yee finde the allegations to bee iuſtified againſt him, cenſure him with ſeuerity, that hee bee made an example heereafter to terrify others. Wee alſo will, that in all your actions and affaires yee beehaue your ſelues aduiſedly, grauely and prouidently, to the end no cauſe of reproch bee any way found againſt yee, but that the deuotion of both kingdomes by your trauell and conuerſation bee continually encreaſed as well to vs as the Church, wherby yee may gayne to your ſelues an eternall prayſe and glory.] Dated at Lateran in the Nones of May.

Theſe letters beeing receaued and diuulged in France did breede a ſinguler ioy in all deuoute myndes as the epiſtles of diuers doe teſtify. Moreouer it ſo fell out as the Popes Legates vpon occaſions did often mention in excuſing themſelues to the king of England, that their authority was by his Holines diminiſhed. Yea although the letters of Alexander were not extant, it is neuertheles moſt aſſured that the Legates haue profeſſed the ſame in the preſence of the kinges both of England and France, as it appeareth out of the epiſtle heereafter to bee recyted.

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But the Legate of Papia, allbee it is his authority was very much lessened by the Apostolicall letters, did notwithstanding leaue nothing vndone to obtayne for the king of England his hartes desire, with the ouerthrowe of the cause of Saint Thomas, who in the meane tyme was encouraged with the Popes letters wryting in this sorte.

[Although the calamity of aduersityes and labors seemeth more terribly to threaten and preuayle against you, set neuertheless before your eyes the sundry examples of the holy fathers, who like your selfe suffering for the zeale of iustice many distresses and afflictions, deserued therby to win with great felicity an euerlasting crowne in the kingdome of heauen. Wherfore wee desire and admonish your wisedome that hauing in your sight the saying, Blessed are they who suffer persecution for iustice: you will not let your mynde be broaken with crosses, nor fall from her setled estate with any tribulations, but strengthen the same with the vertue of fortitude and constancy. Where you knowe assuredly the iustice and liberty of the Church to haue receaued detriment, doe not there in any case endeauor to renew a peace with the king of England to the suppression and abridgment of the Churches dignity: but on the other syde, so far as it may stand with the honor of your degree and liberty of the Church, humble your selfe and labor by all meanes to recouer his grace and fauor, neither conceaue of him a needelesse feare, nor require more security then is conuenient, beecause (as wee beelieue) after hee hath once reconcyled himselfe vnto you, he neither will himselfe offend, nor suffer any other to offend you: and for vs (as wee haue often signifyed to you both by message and wryting) wee will euer loue you as our dearest with a sinceare charity, and procure

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the conſeruation of your honor with the encreaſe of your liberty and dignity, ſo far as God will permitt vs.] This was Alexanders Epiſtell worthy ſo renowned a Pope. But to the matter, let vs now ſee what enſued heere vpon. After long indirect wayes and perplexityes, the Legates who were ſent from the Citty, did hardly at the length, in the Kalends of Ianuary and end of Autumne come together to the king of England for managing the buſines wherin they were employed. But how matters paſſed beetweene them and the king, theyre owne reporte to Pope Alexander, in the name of the Legates of the Apoſtolike Sea, declareth, which beeing written by one of them William of Papia, with a mynde extreamly bent againſt the Archbishop, layeth all the blame on Saint Thomas, in ſo much as wee ought not to make any reckoning thereof, vnles hee bee withall admitted to audience, who beeing innocent, was accuſed as culpable. Yet heare his relation, or rather a moſt bitter accuſation of Saint Thomas.

Ibidem epiſt. 28.

To our moſt bleſſed father and lord Alexander by the grace of God the moſt high Bishop, William and Oddo by the ſame grace Cardinalles, wishing proſperity remember the humble and deuoute ſeruice of theyr ſubiection.

The reporte of Vvilliam the Legate to the Pope, with an inuective againſt Saint Thomas.

Comming to the dominions of the moſt renowned king of England, wee founde the controuerſy beetweene him and Canterbury aggrauated in far worſer ſorte (beelieue vs) then willingly wee could haue wished: for the kinge with the greateſt parte of his followers affirmed how the Archbishop with greate vehemency incenſed the moſt worthy king of France againſt him, and in like ſorte in-

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duced his cosyn the Earle of Flanders, who beefore did beare him no malice, to fall out with him, and rayse the most powerfull warre hee could against him, and this hee knewe of certaynty as a thing apparant by euident demonstrations. For wheras the Earle departed from the king with shew of freindship, the Arbishop comming in his prouince to the very seate of the warre, incyted, as much as in him lay, as well the king of France, as the foresayde Earle to armes: when therfore wee first entred into parlee with the king at Cane, wee deliuered into his handes (as best beeseemed vs) the letters frō your Holines, which when hee had diligently and considerately read, finding in the perusall of them, that they somewhat differed and disagreed from others which hee had receaued from your Holines formerly concerning the same matter, beegan to beestyrred with greater indignation, and that the more, because, as hee sayde, hee was assured how the Archbishop, after our departure from your Holines, receaued letters whereby hee was absolutely exempted from our iudgment, and was no way bound to answer before vs.

Hee affirmed moreouer that the informations deliuered to your Holines, concerning the ancient customes of England, were rather boulstred out with falshoodes, then supported by truth, which the Bishoppes there present did witnes. The king offered also, that if any customes since his tyme were deuysed contrary to the Eccelesiastic all awes, hee would submitt them to the iudgment of your Holines to bee confirmed or cancelled. Calling therefore vnto vs the Archbishoppes, Bishoppes, and Abbotes of the kinges Dominions, to the end the king should not absolutely depriue vs of all hope of peace, but rather suffer himselfe to bee drawen might haue a conference with the Arbishop, as well concerning the peace as the iudgment. Sending therfore letters vnto him by our owne Chalaynes, wee appointed a certayne and safe place, where

The Legates appoint a tyme for parlee with Saint Thomas.

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weemight haue conference with him in the feast of Saint Martin: Hee neuertheles pretending excuses putt of this Parlee vntill the Octaues of this Saint, which truly molested the king more then wee could imagine; but when wee sawe the Archbishoppe (although wee offered him safe conductes) would neuertheles giue vs no meetinges in any parte of the kinges dominions which confyned on France, wee beeing willing to yeeld to him, to the end there might bee nothing wanting in vs, which might redounde to his profit, came to a place in the realme of France which himselfe appointed.

The parlee beetween the Legates and S. Thomas.

Where being at the parlee, wee first beegã most earnestly to perswade and instantly exhorte him, that hee would beehaue himselfe to the king, who had bin his singuler Benefactor, with such humility, as might minister vnto vs sufficient matter whereupon to ground our petition of peace: at which motion retyring himselfe aside with his freindes, after consultation with them hee answered, that he had sufficiently humbled himselfe to the king without impeachement of the honor of God, the liberty of the Church, the reputation of his owne person, the possessions of the Churches, and lastly the iustice due to him and his; these thinges so numbred vp, wee seriously perswading him (as it was necessary) to descend to particulars, when hee would alleage nothing either certayne or particular wee consequently demaunded of him, if in the matters specifyed in your letters, hee would submitt himselfe to our iudgement in sorte as the king and the Bishoppes had allready vndertaken to doe; to which our demaund hee presently replyed, hee had receaued no Mandat from your holines to that purpose; but if hee, with all his, might first bee fully restored, hee would then proceede heerein according as by the Apostolike Sea hee should bee commanded.

Soe returning from the parlee, since his wordes neither

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ended to iudgment nor agreement, nor yet hee would by
ny meane enter into the matter: wee manifested vnto the
ing some thinges knowne to vs concealing neuerthelesse
as it was conuenient) other passages, and tempering
what wee heared with discretion. Hauing therfore ended
ur speech, the king and peeres there present beegan to
maintayne, that his Maiestie was now sett at liberty, since
he Archbishop disclaymed from iudgment: wherupon
fter the king had shewed signes of great disturbance, the
ishoppes and Abbotts of the kingdome of England toge-
her with many others of the Clergie demaunded earnestly
whether wee could enforce by vertue of any speciall
mandate, or by our Legantyne power, the Archbishop to
land to iudgment, and when they vnderstood our facul-
yes were heerin insufficient least the Archbishop beeing
ot subiect to iudgment should (as before hee had done)
vorke molestation to some of the kingdome, in regarde that
herin our presence could profit them nothing, and was
ot able to defend them against the Archbishop, with a
enerall consultation and consent they appealed to the au-
hence of your Holines, assigning the terme of theyr appeale
he feast of Saint Martin, which shall fall the next winter
ollowing, flying in the meane tyme for defence of them
nd theires to the Apostolicall protection, and including
ll the subiectes of the realme with the whole kingdome
within the Edict of this appellation. Lastly wee knowing
his matter euidently to tend to the Churches exceeding
letriment, did by your and our authority absolutely for-
id the Archbishoppe (first in regarde hee was restrayned
y your letters, then because they appealed solemly
gainst him) that hee should not heereafter attempt any
hing to the aggreeuance of the kingdome, people, or
hurches of the realme. It is therfore the parte of your
postolicall prouidence carefully to foresee that this
ffines turne not to the greeuous damage of the Church, as

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they who reſpect the Churches eſpeciall commodity feare and doubt.] This was the relation of the Apoſtolicall Legates to Pope Alexander. But heere wee are to ſet downe likewiſe the epiſtle of Saint Thomas concerning theſe matters to his Holines, which was thus.

Cod. Vat. lib. 2. epiſt. 50.

[The greatnes of our miſeryes and bitternes of our greifes confounded the myndes of vs and our fellowes in exile, and afflicted with a heauy ſcandall the moſt Chriſtian king the peeres of France compaſſionating the Church, which as it ſeemed in the comming of Iohn of Oxeforde was giuen ouer into the handes of them who ſought the depriuatiō of her life, in ſoe much as with exaſperated hartes they complayned that faith and truth were taken of from the earth. But (for the which the father of mercys reward your pitty, moſt holy iudge, moſt liuing Parent, and of the Church of God faithfull Guardian) according to the multitude of dolors in our hartes, your conſolations haue reioyced our ſoules. For now are wee reuiued in hope, and the moſt Chriſtian king with his kingdome yeelding infinite thankes to your Apoſtleshippe (which God moſt highly bleſſe and conſerue for many yeeres) retorte all this their indignation vpon them who gloryed they had with their oathes tryumphed ouer your Maieſtie. For the king hauing receaued your letters of excuſe wrytten by your excellency, inſtantly prayſed and magnifyed the grace of your wiſedome, iuſtice, ſanctity and bleſſednes, and with great ioy layd open to the detractors the malice and deceyptes of them who had with falſe rumors ſo fowly ſcandalized the Church of France, beating this ſomeytmes into the eares of them (if perchance they were preſent) who were vnwilling to harken therunto, in regarde they ſided with the contrary parte. But his ioy was more encreaſed after his conference with your Legates, by whom

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beeing receaued of him with reuerence (as hee confeſſed) hee vnderſtood they came not to preiudice the liberty of the Church or vs, but to compoſe a peace betweene the king of England and vs, and (if it were poſſible) betweene him and the Church of God. And I pray God they may proſper in this way, with his grace, wherin they shall finde vs moſt ready Aſſyſtantes for retayning the honor of God, and the Churches liberty.

And beeing inuited by them to a parlee in the confines of the kingdomes the tenth day following, wee hauing then (wee ſpeake on our conſcience) but three horſes in our ſtable, obtayned a forbearance fer ſeauen dayes more, to aſſemble together our exiled company beeing poore wretches miſerably diſperſed heere and there, yet neceſſary as well for comforte in this intended iourney, as to helpe vs with theyre counſell in the caryage of this buſines: who albeeit they were hardly able to be called together in a tyme ſo shorte, and penury ſoe preſſing on all ſides, neuertheles wee gaue our Lord the Legates meeting on the Octaues of Saint Martin. The moſt Chriſtian king by his ſeruantes appoynted for that purpoſe (for which God in the mercy of his word reward him) liberally and bountefully entertayning vs with our fellowes the whole company of Chriſtes exiled whoe flocked together from euery place. And as it was ſignifyed to vs by ſome, our perſecutors did all they might to breede vexation in our iourneys and chargeable diſburſements, to the end they might make vs burdenſome and odious by the great weyght and tedious prolonging of our expenſes, to the king of France, who among others the poore of Chriſt, releiueth vs with his almes: for they thinke to reape a great benefitt of their malice, if they coulde diſturbe vs of this habitation, which God hath prouy-

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ded for vs, and depriue vs of the Princes charity, euen as they beereaued vs of our aſſiſtance among the Ciſtercians. There came only with my Lordes the Legates, the Archbishop of Roan, the other Bishoppes and Abbots of our prouince (whom it pleaſed the king to call) beeing left at Roan.

They layd therfore open firſt before our eyes the cruelty of the king, the malice of the tymes, the neceſſityes and calamityes of the Churches, which in all partes of the world allmoſt (France only excepted) was aſſayled and oppreſſed with aduerſityes ſcarſe tollerable, and many other wordes they vſed of the mighty power of our prince, his loue and reuerence to the Church of Rome: his fauor, grace, and benefitts beſtowed on vs, aggrauating withall excellency, the accuſations of iniurys done by vs and ours, wherewith hee complayned that he was wonderfully wronged, affirming wee procured both the king of France and Earle of Flanders to make warrs againſt him; then they perſwaded vs to endeauor with great humility and ample showe of deuotion and moderation to appeaſe his indignation, if ſoe extreme a fierce nature may by any meanes bee reclaymed, and ſo rough and vnbridled a diſpoſition broken: yea they asked counſell of vs (who in tymes paſt weere accuſtomed to knowe him more inwardly) how they might ſoften the hardnes of his harte, for hee shewed himſelfe more diſtaſtefull to them, after hee perceaued how they could not according to the promiſes made by Iohn of Oxeforde, contrary to God and all lawes, pronounce againſt vs at his pleaſure the ſentence of condemnation; but what hee ſayde in the hearing of his Bishoppes, shall by Gods aſſiſtance bee deliuered you more commodiouſly by word of mouth then by wryting. And for vs wee yeelde thankes to your Holines that you are ſoe carefully

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full of the Churches peace and ours, which ours is the Churches peace and yours.

Wee auoyded the suspitions by which the king labored to taxe vs, with true and probable reasons, and the king of France himselfe the next day followinge did as farre as conceerned him in the presence of the Cardinalles cleere our innocency with his oathe, being (as the searcher and iudge of hartes knoweth) guiltles of this faulte; neither are wee so dull and slowe to beeleiue the lawe prophetts and Gospell, that in a point of this great importãce, laying asyde our spirituall weapons and the sheildes of Apostolike discipline, wee should suppose armes of the flesh to be vsed especially by preistes: for we knowe weare not to trust in princes, and accursed is hee who maketh flesh his arme; and to the end they might not falsly deuise any such thing against vs, wee long abstayned from hauing conference with the king, vntill at the last vpon his cõmandement wee came, that wee might present to him the letters of our excuse, and obtayne a free passage and safe conducte for my lord Oddo the Legate who sent to vs for that purpose his Chaplayne Papia, for hee had procured the like from the king of England: the king of France also as then vnripped vnto vs an old iniury (as hee sayde) offered him by them at such tyme as hee accepted you as his father and lord, and lastly hee tooke worst of all the vainglorious boasting of Iohn of Oxeforde with those of his faction. After his hauing gratiously admitted our excuse and graunting the passe wee desired, wee returned to the place of our poore aboade expecting with patience reliefe from our Lord. *Ierem. 17.*

And beecause our Lordes the Legates required at our handes all humility and showe of modesty, wherby so magnificent a prince might bee appeased and pleased; wee answered wee would according to their

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counsell render vnto him as to our Lord and king most willingly and deuoutely all humility, seruice and reuerence, sauing euer to God and the Apostolike Sea their honor, to the Churches her liberty, to vs respect of our person, and to Churches their possessions, and if any thing seemed according to their opinion to bee heerin added, lessened, or altered, wee beesought them to certify vs, in regarde it was our desire to obey thē so far as stood with our condition & professiō, they replying they would not consult hereof, nor came to vs then to giue aduice but aske counsell of vs, essaying vs they demanded (that wee may vse my lord Williams wordes) in regarde wee were not better then our forefathers we would in their presence promise our king to obserue all the customes which his ancestors helde in the tyme of our Predecessors, and so all controuersyes on both sydes beeing layd asleepe (if they could bring this aboute which would not bee done as they thought without difficulty) for vs to receaue our Archbishoppricke againe, and to recouer his grace and fauor. Whereunto wee sayde that none of our predecessors were euer by any king constrayned to make this protestation, neither wee (God willing) would euer professe to obserue the customes which vtterly destroy the liberty of Gods Church, pluck vp by the rootes the priuiledge of the Apostolike Sea, and are open and absolute oppugners of the lawe of God, from the which of your mercy you absolued vs at Senon in the presence of themselues and many others, whenas you vsed withall these wordes worthy of your Apostolicall mouth, which by Gods grace shall neuer departe out of our mynde, that wee ought rather yeelde our neckes to the sword of the executioner, then consent to such wicked customes, and for a filthy and base commodity of our temporall estates, and greedy purchase of a frayle life, to neglect our pastorall office. There

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were read in their presence those reprobate customes, some of which wee had allready condemned, yea which the whole Catholicke Church had in many Counsells before our age together with the obseruers of them accursed: wee asked them if it were then any way lawfull for a preist without perill of his order and danger of his soule to obserue them, yea or to wincke at them; wee sayd moreouer wee had formerly sworne our fealty vnto the king, with reseruation of the honor of our order, and that we would euer willingly obserue the same so far forth as wee doe not frustrate our faith due to Allmighty God: wherupon one (whom as your Holines knoweth wee haue held and euer ought to haue in suspition) vrged vs thus; that better it was absolutely to yeelde, then the Church to bee in this sorte disturbed; and to this effect were multiplyed many perswasiue speeches, which will better be deliuered by word of mouth then otherwise: to whom wee replyed, that in this cause wee would neuer yeelde, in regard it would proue a pernitious example, and turne to the ruine of the Ecclesiasticall liberty, yea perhappes to the damage of the Christian faith, for who hereafter would then euer dare to open his mouth? what is hee who (when the Pastors shall thus runne away) will rise against them to oppose himselfe as a wall for the house of Israel? wee sayde moreouer neither your Holines nor any Apostolicall men instructed euer the Church of God with such examples. Did not (vpon the flight of the Pastors as it is famously reported in Historyes) all Egipt returne to Idolatry, where at the first Religion so exceedingly flourished? Then running to an other matter, they demanded if wee would abyde the iudgment of the Legates in the controuersy beetweene the king and vs, and that if heerin we refused iudgment wee seemed to iustify the kings syde, and in the eyes

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of many to diminish the credit of our cauſe: wher on the other parte (if it ſtandeth with your pleaſure) wee are not bound to admitt our aduerſary for a iudge: neither can wee bee confident of any heerein but only in your preſence, for by reaſon of the banishment of vs and ours, the king ſoe frighteth and terrifyeth all men with the vexation and loſſes of others, as none, knowing it, dareth once affoarde vs a good word. Conſidering deepely all this, wee tempered our anſwer ſoe as wee neither refuſed nor accepted this iudgment and dangerous tryall: For wee ſayde, whenſoeuer wee, who were thus beereſte of Archbishoppricke, gouerment, and all our goodes, were reſtored agayne to what wee lofte, wee would then gladly, and when wee ought ſubmitt our ſelues to your determination, or the iudgment of him or them, whom by your mandate you should appoint, nor could wee nor would wee flye from iuſtice; in the meane tyme wee could not with any reaſon bee conſtrayned to a contentious courſe of lawe, neither were our poore meanes able to ſupporte it, neither could the liberality of the moſt renowned king, without moleſtation, extend it ſelfe ſoe far as to mayntaine vs with the poore of Chriſt our banished breathren vpon his expence vnder the roofes of ſtrangers, eſpecially ſince hee aboundeth not at this inſtant with money; for where hee hath plenty of victualls, there can he more tollerably defray our charges.

Then deſcended they to the third queſtion, demaunding if wee would admitt the proces of the Bishoppes who appealed againſt vs beefore thoſe iudges: But wee anſwered, wee receaued no mandate of yours concerning this buſines, nor yet that our pouerty was able to vndergoe the expences of ſuch a controuerſy: for that was the drifte of our Aduerſaryes (as wee vnderſtood by them who could not bee ignorant heerin) to giue a

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taynte to our person vpon any occasion in the presence of the Legates, therby to worke vs any wrong. For they coniectured that none of the prouince durst assist vs against the king, in regarde wherof they might the sooner procure our ruyne: and the king called out only those to this conference, who beeing our Aduersaryes from the first rayſing of this storme, were knowne to bee the inuentors of soe greate a mischeife, which were the Archbishop of Yorke with the Bishoppes of London and Chichester, the Bishop of Worcester beeing also sent for with them, that vnder the vayle of his worthines the malice of the rest might bee shadowed. But as your wisedome may remember these who now soe applaude the kinges pleasure, and aboue the rest (as it is openly knowne) thirst our bloud, are they who sometymes soe much extolled in their letters full fraught with our prayses, the procuring of our Pall, and the forme of our election together with our person; but now contradicting both truth, and themselues, through an impudency of lying and flattering, they become contemptible, whilst at the pleasure of the Prince, like the slaue in the Comedy, now they say, now they gayneſay: these are they (o father) who giue hornes to the sinner, and if hee bee not made enough, incense him more, laying softe cushons vnder his elbowe, and lulling a sleepe on daynty pillowes the heade that languisheth with sinnes.

Since therfore they who ought with their counsell, assistãce and authority to bee the pillars of the Church, doe now with their flattery and expences animate and arme the persecutors of the diuine lawe and of our selues against her and vs, it is not safe nor possible for vs to subiect our selues to iudgment, but only in the presence of your Holines, and to bee examined by your selfe: For although the Church may conceaue a great

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hope of the ſinceare proceeding of one of the Legates, and wee are confident in him, eſpecially in matters appertayning to God, neuertheles there is not any man but your ſelfe to whom wee dare cõmitt this cauſe of our Lordes; and for the other, God make him the man who may ſaue his ſoule and beeſeeme the place of a preiſt Cardinall of the Romane Church: yet let that neuer come to paſſe which (pleaſeth it you to remember) wee forewarned and feare will yet happen, if it should fortune, the wiſedome, eloquence and authority of my Lord William should concurre with the power and willfull diſpoſition of the king of England, wee doubt (wee ſaye) they will demaunde of vs by their counſell and conſent thoſe thinges which either bee greeuous for you to heare and impoſſible to bee effected, or otherwiſe diſpleaſing to God and odious to the world.

And becauſe the charge of all Churches reſteth on your shoulders, turne (if it pleaſe you) your eyes on the weſt, marke and ſee in what ſorte the Church, is there handled, let it bee tould by the lord Oddo, whom wee beeleiue the ſpirit of Gód guydeth, let him declare what hee behouldeth, what hee knoweth concerning the Church and Prouince of Towers, what hee heard reported in England, what hee hath by experience found in Normandy, and wee beeleiue you will ſay with teares, there is no greife like to the greife of this. For to let paſſe the Churches of Canrerbury and Towers which hee houldeth in his handes, as you haue heard, and wee wish you would heare it more fully, hee hath now of long tyme retayned to himſelfe ſeauen vacant Bishopprickes in the prouinces beelonging to vs and Roan, nor ſuffereth any paſtors to bee ordayned in them, the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate of the kingdome is giuen his followers to bee trampled vnder their

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feete and made their prey: If wee looke not to this (moſt holy father) how shall wee anſwer Chriſt in the day of iudgment? who will reſiſt Antichriſt at his comming, if wee ſuffer thus the vices and offenſes of his forerunners? with ſuch induring as this, Potentates growe prowde, the kinges of Nations turne to bee Tyrantes, and imagine the Church ought to haue no right, no priuiledge, but depending only on their pleaſure: but bleſſed is hee who houldeth and dasheth the litle ones on the rocke. For if Iudas beeing commanded by the lawe rooteth not out the Cannonytes, they will growe vp to bee perpetually his Aduerſary and his ſtinge. Bee therfore (father) of good comforte, and bee a couragions commander, wee haue more on our ſyde then they haue on theirs; God hath broken in peeces Fredericke the hammer of the impious, beeing ready alſo shortly to ſtrike others vnles they amend and haue peace with the Church of God.

And to conclude, wee only expect the ſentence of your mouth, or of his who hath bin accuſtomed to beereaue Princes of their ſpiritts, and deliuer the poore from the potent. You shall receaue more by word of mouth which wee thought inconuenient to committ to wryting. Let your excellency bee thus perſwaded, that if wee would from the beeginning haue giuen way to theſe wicked cuſtomes, wee needed not now interceſſion of any Cardinall, nor yet of any man liuing. In vayne (God willing) doe they lay beefore our eyes the examples of the Cicilians or Hungarians: which at the day of Iudgment cannot excuſe vs, if wee preferre the barbariſme of Tyrantes before Apoſtolicall conſtitutions, and beeleiue the vſurping pryde of wordly powers to bee rather a rule to directe our life, then the Eternall Teſtament confirmed with the bloud and death of the ſonne of God. To frame therfore a la-

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mentable end to our former diſcourſe, let your Holines now conſider, if this ought to bee the fruite of our labour, trauayle and exile, thus to bee iudged, naked, miſerable, depriued of our whole eſtate, and theſe extremityes in our tryall, only beecauſe wee attempted for the liberty of the Church, to withſtand a moſt fierce oppreſſor of the ſame? Yea wee, who daylie expect comforte from this deſolation, ioy for this miſery with a iuſt reuenge from God and you againſt the Churches Aduerſaryes for their iniury done to Chriſte. Could it not ſufficiently ſatisfy them, who ſought our life, that they haue murdered ſome of vs? nor yet could they content themſelues with our pouerty and calamity, beeing ſcarſe able to liue by releife from the almes of ſtrangers, but that wee muſt moreouer with this Legantyne authority (which would it had neuer bin) bee in vayne protracted and delayed from yeeres to yeeres, from greife to greife, from miſery to confuſion? Yea our right and iuſtice to be turned to the ruine of vs and our wretched Aſſociates? Good God, what will bee the end of this dolor? Aryſe (ô Lord) adiudge thy cauſe, reuenge the bloud of thy ſeruantes thus impiouſly killed, together with thoſe who through intollerable afflictions doe euen now fainte, ſince there is none but our Lord the Pope, and ſome few left with him who will deliuer vs out of the handes of our enemyes. God grante your Holines for many yeeres well to liue and proſper, that wee with our vnfortunate fellowes may liue and recouer.] This was the reporte of Saint Thomas vnto the Pope. In the meane while the Legates Cardinalls ſignifyed to Saint Thomas, how the king of England had obtayned from his Holines, which as wee ſee by all meanes poſſible hee bruited abroad, that the authority of Saint Thomas concerning the affaires of the English Church was wholy

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interdicted. There is extant a restraynte in this manner, which was sent by them to Saint Thomas written in these wordes.

To our reuerent and most beeloued brother the Archbishop of Canterbury, William and Oddo Cardinalls send greeting.

The king was certifyed of your answer as well concerning the agreement, as also the cause, if soe it pleased him to proceede against you: and wheras hee was before by reason of your other actions (as hee sayde) incensed enough and too to much, hee beecame now enraged with a greater and more vehement indignation, accusing peremptorily the erection of your mynde against him, and our Lord the Popes nrglect of his affaires. Moreouer the Bishoppes and Abbottes of the kingdome of England hearing you would haue noe dealing with them, nor yet stand to our iudgment, read openly in our presence our Lord the Popes letters, wherin (as hee sayth) hee commandeth you to forbeare interdicting the land: They demanded also of vs, if they might by vs or either of vs thorough this our Legantine authority bee defended against these your molestations of them in England: wherunto when wee answered, wee had no power at all concerning any matters in the realme of England, they appealed there instantly both for themselues and the whole kingdome vnto our lord the Pope, shcilding themselues and the realme vnder the protection of his Holines and vs, assigning for their day the feast of Saint Martin: wherfore wee command your dearly beeloued selfe, and enioyne you on the beehalfe of the Pope and our selues, that answering the foresayd Appeale and respecting the restraint which our Lord the Pope, as hee affirmeth, hath layn vpon you, you attempt no interdiction or excommunication against the realme of England, before you haue appeared in the Apostolike presence, and vnder-

Cod. Vat. lib. 2. epist. 29.

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ſtood the pleaſure of his Holines and the Church, of Rome heerein. The Biſhoppes likewiſe and Abbottes themſelues haue ſent their eſpeciall meſſangers to denounce to you this their Appeale made in our preſence, together with the determined day. This was the Mandate of the Legates. But when this newes of the inhibition or reſtraint of the authority of Saint Thomas was not only by letters ſignifyed vnto him, but alſo (as before, you haue heard) reported euery where to the ſcandall of all good men, who fauored the Churches liberty, S. Thomas beeing heerewith exceedingly afflicted, did wryte lamentable letters replenished with complaintes heereof, as well to Pope Alexander himſelfe, as alſo to all the Cardinalls of the Romane Church wherin hee diſcouered the bitter ſorrowe of his mynde, all which eſpecially wee can readylie declare, beeing extant in the end of the ſame often recyted booke of Epiſtles, and were by error of the wryter omitted in the ſecond booke after the 45. epiſtle, as the corrector of that error hath admonished vs. The epiſtle of Saint Thomas to Pope Alexander is in this wiſe.

To his moſt beeloued lord and holy father Alexander by the grace of God high Biſhop, Thomas the humble ſeruant of the Church of Canterbury a wretched and miſerable banished man together with his exiled Aſſociates wisheth proſperity and all felicity.

Saint Thomas wryteth to the Pope expreſsing his ſorrowe.

We ſend to your holines the bearers heereof beeing two perſons faithfull to vs, and fellowes of our miſerable exile, ſuch at this inſtant as wee could gett, and them whom wee haue aſſigned to deliuer in your preſence, the certayne and pittifull relation of matters concerning vs

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now lately acted, and withall the necessity of our calamityes beeing assuredly aboue measure, that wee may therupon receaue (if it please you) with speede, redresse by your meanes from this oppression of the Church and vs, (which helpe, though most due, is yet too long delayed) and obtayne withall through, the hand of your mercy, releise in our greiuous distresses, least being otherwise cruelly and abouer sure depressed, we fainte in this tribulation, a greater then which we haue not since the first beginning of our long continued afflictions endured: For we are deferred, the tyme is now tedious (as your excellency vnderstandeth) we are put of and prolonged no lesse cruelly then vniustly from yeeres to yeeres in misery and dolor, that if perchance by that way in length of protracted tyme our life may perish through tribulation, and we thus worne out altogether be extinguished and fall to dust as absolutely spent in the extremitys of our disasters, while death in the meane tyme (which God forbid) may deprive you of authority, whose power through the mercy of God shall, before it expireth redeeme vs and ours out of this lake of misery, and breake the snares of the malitious cõtrary to the desire of the wicked. Bẽd downe therfore (ô Lord) thyne eare and heare, open thyne eyes and see if there hath bin an iniquity equall to this; be dilligent, attentiue, and marke if there bee a dolor like this of vs and ours, who are giuen vp for a prey and spoyle, vnlesse thy mercy (o God) doe presently through the hand of the Apostolike authority succor vs, we are made a scorne and derision to those who are about vs, being confounded by the authority of your Legates, who would to God they had not dealte thus disorderedly and presumptuously with vs and the affaires of the Church; for if they haue thus vsed vs in the greene wood, what will they doe in the drye? wee meane in the continuance of this Legantyne authority, which would it had

neuer bin. They haue ſuſpended vs (as much as in them lyeth) from all power which wee haue enioyed ouer the Churches and perſons of England, although neuer by Gods grace nor by your goodnes done at the inſtance of any Prince or other, or by Gods mercy will bee done; as your excellency vouchſafed moſt certainly to promiſe vs. And why (renowned Lord) haue you granted this Legantyne authority to ſuch a man (let it bee ſpoken with your patience) in whoſe firſt entrance to this buſines your Lordſhip ought to haue bin circumſpect what the fruite of this Legation would be, and more conſiderate what the end would proue, eſpecially in him whoſe endeauors were wholy bent from the firſt, and ſo are ſtill, to the ruine of the Eccleſiaſticall dignity and alſoe of yours, if ſo he may be gratious therby to the king.

My Lord, my Lord, on you are caſt our eyes leaſt otherwiſe wee perish, helpe vs (my Lord) and deale with vs according to your promiſes, which wee would they had not in vayne reioyced our hartes; for wee haue endured vpon the commandement of your excellency, wee haue endured peace (wee ſay) and it commeth not; wee haue expected, by the handy worke of your Legates, good, and behould our affliction is more encreaſed, and our troubles more terrible. Take pitty on vs therfore (my Lord) take pitty, ſince there is none vnder God who fighteth for vs, but only your ſelfe, with your faithfull Aſsiſtantes. Haue mercy on vs (wee ſay) that God may haue mercy on you in that ſeuere iudgment, when you muſt yeelde accompt of your Baylywicke, for wee haue refuge to none vnder God but your ſelfe, ſince euen they, to purchaſe the fauor of men, oppoſe againſt vs, who in regarde of piety and iuſtice, and for the reuerence of the ſacred Church of Rome, ought eſpecially to maintayne and defend vs. For your eſtates beeing now conſumed, and endles vexations aſſaulting vs, wee haue not hereafter any meanes left

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how to prosecute this troublesome sute and cõtrouersy rayssed by them, nor the least parte therof. Let then your excellency instantly (if it please you) helpe vs and the Church with making an end of this malitious mischeife, that there be heereafter no longer delay, because the tyme now importuneth it, for hardly are wee able to breath, our extremities are soe greate, make haste therefore, that wee may receaue some benefit of your fauor before wee dye: God send long prosperity and life to your holy and bounteous goodnes which wee esteeme most deerely, and is next vnder the loue of our Lord for vs most necessary, that by your magnificence wee may beegin to reuiue, who now beegin to dye.

Please it your wisedome to bee also informed that three dayes before these mischeifes befell vs, we sent messingers with letters to signify to your Holines in what manner we departed frõ your Legates. For the most Christiã king of France, his Queene, the Princes and Bishoppes of the kingdome with others of lesser note, who loued you, did by theer letters congratulate you, glorifying Allmighty God, and thanking his diuine Maiestie and you, because it was manifest vpon the comming of the Legates, as they themselues by word of mouth made knowne to my Lord the king, that all the rumors were false and most vntrue which Iohn the sweearer of Oxeforde, and others the kinges messingers had vaunted concerning the aggreiuances, and ouerthrowe wee should receaue by the Legates, which rayssed an vnspeakable scandall throughout the whole kingdome of France, and among all who heard this reporte, they only excepted, who were aduersaryes to the Church and vs, But this harpe was turned to lamentation, this mirth to morneing, and the last error made worser then the first: Wee humbly therfore beeseech, that it would please your Holines to apply a present remedy to a sickness yet beeginning, and to let men openly knowe as-

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cording to the truth, how all this preſumption was with out your priuity and contrary to your commandement. And ſoe againe God ſend your Holines well to doe now and eternally. Thus much wrote Saint Thomas to Pope Alexander. Which the Saint not ſatisfyed with this ſeconded with the enſuing complaintes to the ſacred Colledge of Cardinalls.

Codex Vatican. in the Appendix of the epiſtles, epiſt. 1.

To his reuerent Lordes and Fathers the Bishoppes, Preiſtes and Deacons by the grace of God Cardinalles of the ſacred Church of Rome, Thomas by the ſame grace the humble ſeruant of the Church of Canterbury a wreched and miſerable banished man ſendeth greeting with remembrance of his moſt reſpectiue dutifull ſeruice.

Saint Thomas complayneth to the Colledge of Cardinalls.

It is not eaſy for a wreched man to make a gratefull diſcourſe, and for the miſerable to keepe a meaſure in ſpeech; forgiue therfore (wee beeſeech yee) the wreched, and pardon the miſerable. Wee beeliewe (moſt holy fathers) how yee are by the ordinance of Allmighty God placed in that your hygth of dignity to this purpoſe eſpecially that yee ſhould chaſe away iniuſtice, cut of all preſumption, gratiouſly ſuccor the afflicted of the Clergy, and neuer ſuffer them to bee ouerborne with reproches and calamitys, but ayde and aſsiſt the oppreſſed and aggreiued, ſuppreſſe their falſe accuſers, and ſeuerely punish ſuch as worke their ruine: For in not chaſtiſing the peruerſe nor reſiſting the Perſecutors of the Church, wee doe nothing but fauor them: Hee ſeemeth ſecretly to conſent who oppoſeth not himſelfe againſt a manifeſt offence; whereupon wee conclude, it cannot bee but that yee are hereafter bound with all your forces and endeauors to aſsiſt this cauſe of ours, And (a litle after) is not our cauſe alſo yours? yea alſo-

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lutely yours. Will yee not yet seeme to knowe that the king of England hath vsurped, and euery day vsurpeth euen still the possessions of the Church, how hee ouerthroweth the Churches liberty, layeth hands on Gods anoynted, tyrannizing euery where and without any respect ouer the Clergie, castinge some into pryson, dismembring others, plucking out the eyes of these, enforcing those to vndergoe the combate of single fight, and likewise causing Clearkes to endure the tryall of fire and water, making Bishoppes to disobey their metropolitan, and inferior Clearkes their Bishoppes, not to acknowledge themselues excommunicate, who are neuerthelesse truly accursed, and in a word (which is farre worse) that hee cleane abrogateth the whole liberty of the Church, not vnlike that infamous Scysmaticke the oppressor of your selues (Fredericke wee meane) who laboreth vtterly to rent out the very bowels of the Church; if this bee suffered to passe vnpunished in our king, what will not his heires presume? what shall your successors endure? Consider how mischeifes daylye encrease, and the occasions & inuentions of mischeifes encrease withall.

Good God, and shall hee doe all this without controulement? This was not the way of Christ, nor yet of his Apostles, whose imitators yee ought to bee, &c.

By reason therfore of these letters sent as well to Pope Alexander as the Cardinalls, of the sacred Roman Church beeing then at Rome, and likewise by the authority of a man of that worth, and aboue all by the truth it selfe, his Holines with the Colledge of Cardinalls was moued to call home with all speede these Legates, who were accused by so many complayntes of this saintly man, and his messinger and agent (who resyded at Rome) especially also procuring the same, whom S. Thomas (as it appeareth) admonished to followe the matter effectually with his Ho-

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lines, wryting among other thinges vnto him thus. [Wherefore in all respectes it is expedient, yea most necessary that you employ all yours endeauors, and with your vttermost power worke our Lord the Pope to call backe the often recyted Cardinalls, and cause them to bee compelled vpon a payne to ensue, if they should refuse presently to departe out of all the kinges dominions.] Soe wrote saint Thomas for recalling the Legates, who (as wee haue sayde) was euer fauorably heard of his Holines: for the Pope by his letters recalled them presently backe to the Citty, abrogating all their authority, who beefore they departed thought good to see the king of England, wherof, and concerning the passage betweene them, a relation then written discourseth in this sorte.

Cod. Vat. lib. 2. epist. 104.

Ibidem epist. 60.

The reporte of the last conference betweene the Legates and the Kinge.

[The next Thursday after the Octaues of Saint Martin the Cardinalls came to the Monastery called Bec, on the morrowe to Ligieux, the next day to Saint Peters vpon Dyue, and thence the wednesday before the first Sunday in Aduent to Argenton, on which day the king gaue them meeting two leagues before they entred the towne, entertayning them with a pleasant countenance, and accompanyd both the Cardinalls to their lodging, the second day ensuing after Masse beeing called early enough in the morning they came and entred the kinges chamber to consult with the Archbishoppes, Bishoppes and Abbots there assembled, and continuing in counsell the space of two hours, they passed on farther the king accompaning them to the outward dore of the Chappel, and as they went, the king in the hearing of them and all others sayde, that hee wished his eyes might neuer more beehould any Cardinal, and dimissed thē soe hastily, as their lodging beeing neere at hand, yet could they not expecte the comming of their horses, but were enforced to ryde

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tyde on such as they could by chance finde without the Chappell. Thus departed the Cardinalls with noe more at the vttermost then foure attendantes. The Archbishoppes, Bishoppes and Abbotts remayned with the king and entred the Chamber to sitt in counsell, where hauing continued vntill euening, they went thence to the Cardinalls with discontented countenances, and staying awhile with them, returned to their lodginges. On the morrow, after they had remayned with the king six houers, they went to the Cardinalls, and thence backe to the king, with returning againe to the Cardinalls, and soe continued, carying secret messages to and fro. At their meeting being on Saint Andrewes Eue, the king rising early went on hunting, and (as it was certainly supposed) did it of purpose to absent himselfe: the Bishoppes came beetymes to the kinges Chappell, and thence to the counsell chamber, where after deliberation of matters they departed to the Church neere the Cardinalls lodginge, where the Cardinalls beeing sate, they were called in to heare what they would propose; the Archbishoppes of Roane and Yorke taking their places, after them the Bishops of Worcester, Salisbury, Bayon, London, Chichester, and Angolisme with many Abbottes, and a company of the Layety. London rose vp whose idle and ill digested oration was a manifest argument of his distempered mynde; and beeginning yee haue seene, &c. And rehearsing the Appeale made by the Bishoppes of England, and declared formerly by the relation of the Legates, hauing concluded hee sayde: since now they had appealed they desired of the Cardinalle[a] Apostles, which (as it is supposed) was giuen them as proper to their appeale. So the Cardinalls departed from the king on the Tewesday after the Sunday wherin is sung *Ad te leuaui*: but

[a] *Letters of appellation sent from one iudge to another.*

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in taking leaue, the king with great humility beeſought the Cardinalls to be interceſſors to his Holines, that hee would abſolutely deliuer him from vs; and with thoſe wordes before the Cardinalls and all the company hee wept, and my Lord William was ſeene with his teares to accompany him; But my lord Oddo could hardly forbeare laughing. Now for the ſubſtance of the buſines thus it is: My Lord William of Papia ſendeth a certayne Chaplayne of his, kinſman (as it thought) to Maſter Lumbard, in Poſte to my Lord the Pope, and with him the king ſendeth likewiſe two meſſingers, the one appertayning to the Biſhop of London, called Maſter Henry Pixim, the other Reynold ſonne to the Biſhop of Saliſbury. Moreouer on Saturday before the ſecond Sunday of Aduent there went from the Cardinalls beeing then at Sureux Maſter Iocelin of Chicheſter and the Chantor of Saliſbury towards you to denounce that there was an appeale made againſt you by the perſons of England. [And ſomewhat after] my Lord Oddo the Cardinall certifyeth my Lord the Pope in ſecret, that hee would neuer bee author or any way guilty of your depoſition, although the king ſeemed to deſire nothing elſe but your head in the dish.] This was the relation ſent by a frind of Saint Thomas vnto him. And yet there is an other reporte made by Iohn of Saliſbury in his letter to Iohn Biſhop of Poytiers, where it is ſet downe thus of the kings inraged mynde in their laſt departure. [The Cardinalles found the king in ſuch an exceſſiue fury, as hee complayned openly that hee was beetrayed by my Lord the Pope, and threatened to forſake him vnles hee would cauſe iuſtice to bee executed on the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.] And afterwardes concerning what followed when they had appealed hee declareth it in theſe wordes.

Cod Vat. lib. 2. epiſt. 26.

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The Bishoppes ſent alſo two meſſingers beeing of the meſſingers beelonging to the Legates, one called Walter the Chauntor of Saliſbury, the other Iocelyn the Chancellor of Chicheſter to declare the Appeale made in this ſorte, and to renew the ſame before the Archbishop. But the Archbishop admitted not the meſſingers from the Bishops to ſpeake in his preſence, becauſe among others, they came alſo in the name of the Bishop of London, whom the Archbishope held for excommunicate, and therfore ſignifyed to the Cardinalls, that they who were employed in this meſſage, had communicated with thoſe whom hee had excommunicated: although to delude the Apoſtolike Mandate they ſeemed to the ignorant abſolued, for our lord the Pope yeelded at the laſt only to this, that in danger of death they might bee abſolued, taking firſt an oath to ſubmitt themſelues to the Popes Mandate, if they recouered, wherupon they fayning themſelues to bee in hazard of their liues, becauſe ſometymes by their lordes commandement they were to croſſe the ſeas, or other whiles to trauayle into Wales, obtayned abſolution from a Welch Bishoppe Llaneſua, a man vnexpert allmoſt in both lawes, and who as one wiſe in making his bargaine, had receaued at the kinges handes the Abbey of Abeedon for a Bishoppricke, and to the end no queſtion might bee had of the Popes Mandate, the Archbishoppe ſent to the Legates the Apoſtolicall letters, wherby they were ſtraightly commanded to reduce all ſuch as were ſoe abſolued into their former ſentence of excommunication, vnles they fully reſtored vnto the Archbishoppe and his Aſſociates their poſſeſſions, with all other thinges by them vniuſtly taken away, and that no obſtacle of any Appeale ſhould euer hinder this Apoſtolicall Mandate. And afterwardes, [Hee therfore inſtantly beeſought

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the Legates, that according to my Lord the Popes Mandate they would vrge theſe perſons excommunicated by him to make ſatisfaction, or to returne them backe to their cenſure of accurſing, &c. ſaying withall, that Legates were inuited to this buſines, who were weake on this beehalfe, to the end they might bee bowed with euery blaſte.] But concerning them who ſtole out an abſolution in regarde they were to paſſe the ſeas, the epiſtell of Iohn of Saliſbury is extant written to Pope Alexander wherin hee doth manifeſt that they could in no caſe bee accompted for abſolued.

Cod. Vat. lib. 2. epiſt. 98.

After William the Legate vnderſtood Saint Thomas had not admitted the Bishoppes meſſingers in reſpect they were not duely abſolued from the excommunication they had incurred, hee himſelfe as well in his owne as his aſſociate Legates name ſent theſe letters to the Bishoppes of Norwich and Chicheſter, both of England, who had the matter by him committed to them for abſoluing the excommunicate.

Ibidem.

[Wee doe by theſe our letters command your wiſedomes that vpon ſight heereof yee abſolue ſuch perſons as are ſayde to remayne in your handes intangled in the chaynes of excommunication by the Archbishop of Canterbury, taking firſt of them a promiſe to ſtand to our awarde ; and that this occaſion beeing ſett aſide, either of yee, to whom theſe our letters ſhall firſt come, doe endeauor to proſecute and accomplish whatſoeuer ſhall ſeeme moderate in your iudgmēt, and after they haue receaued your Mandate, then ſignify that vpon their oath they are abſolued.] Theſe were the letters written in the name of the Legates. Saliſbury mentioneth theſe letters in his epiſtle to the Archdeacon of Exceſter in this ſorte: [For hee ſhall receaue ſhortly (if hee hath them not yet) letters from the Legates commanding him to abſolue thoſe who

Ibidem epiſt. 101.

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ſtand excommunicate by the Archbishop of Canterbury, notwithſtanding the Legates themſelues haue therin no power to command, but are by the Apoſtolicall letters forbidden to come within England, or any way to intermedle with the affaires of the kingdome, vnleſſe a moſt perfect peace bee firſt concluded.] And after: [And let them bee tould that they shall haue no beenefit of abſolution for obtayning ſaluation, vnles pennance, confeſſion, and ſatisfaction doe forerun it, &c. This and other thinges did Saliſbury wryte, out of whoſe other letters to Alexander receaue heere againe the complaints of ſuch as were banished for the Eccleſiaſticall liberty in theſe wordes. [Our ſoules (ô father) are drowned in bitternes, in ſoe much as I feare exceedingly in your ſight, leaſt the ſurpaſſing force of ſorrowe should beereaue our wordes of modeſty and patience, in regarde the wonderfull depth of our miſerys knoweth not how to confine our complayntes: For ſome of our fellowes dying for the defence of iuſtice, expect from God and the Church reuenge of their innocent blood, others are afflicted with ſundry tortures, wee are all banished, and haue long lingred in exile: but ther is one only remedy left to the faithfull in their tribulation, inceſſantly to ſolicite the diuine Maieſtie with their prayers, and to reueale to him the ſecretts of their inward myndes, that they may ſoe moue their father to mercy, and obtayne comforte in their calamityes. As often as the children of Iſrael vſed this, ſoe often wee reade they were deliuered out of their neceſſityes and extremityes, they had recourſe to the Tabernacle of truce, where the holy of holyes was reſerued, that is to ſay, the commandementes of God which far excell all iuſtifications, in their greateſt difficultys they did flye to Moyſes, and Aaron the holy of our Lord; and to whom shall the wretched of Can-

Cod Vat. lib. 2. epiſt. 100.

The complaintes of the banished English-men to the Pope.

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terbury runne to bee Mediators betweene God and them, but to the Roman Church where flourisheth the conseruation of the diuine lawe, and primacy of all Preisthode; for next vnder God (if hee resolueth to saue vs) wee shall bee presently deliuered: if you lifte vp your handes Amelech shall bee destroyed, and hee who hath made you a God ouer Pharao, will ouerthrowe all the Churches Aduersaryes before your face.] Thus far hee complaining afterwardes of the excommunicated who were vnduely absolued, as wee haue before declared. But Pope Alexander vnderstanding this, wrote thus to the Cardinalls Legates against those who were absolued without forerunning satisfaction.

Ibidē Epist. 99. The Popes letter cōcerning the absolution of the excōmunicated.

[Wee are let to vnderstand that some of those, whom our reuerent brother Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury hath excommunicated, doe still presume to withhould the goods and possessions of his Church and Clergie, and make their commodity of them; wherfore beecause it is vnworthy that while they retayne these goodes and possessions, they should bee released of their accursed bandes, wee doe by these our Apostolike letters command your discretion that if (as wee haue heard) they are absolued by any, yee doe streightly on our beehalfe enioyne them vpō their oathes instantly to yeelde vp the possessions and goods soe wrōgfully vsurped vnto the persons and Churches to whom of right they beelong, and that beereafter they attempt not vpon any occasion what someuer to keepe them or intermedle with them; and if they will not obey your commandement, that then, all delay and appeale sett a syde, yee recall and cast them backe into their former sentence of excommunication vntill they haue made full satisfaction; yea although they haue bin absolued by your selues, yet neuertheles ac-

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complish yee this our commandement.]

Thus wrote Alexander but the next yeere following as appeareth by what hath byn sayde, for before that tyme was not the Pope certifyed theereof. Which letters from his holines when the Legates had receaued by the messanger of sainct Thomas, wryting backe to the Sainct they excused themselues, with saying, that while they remayned with the king they could not put these matters in execution against them on whom the king had beestowed the goods, and how this was also the Popes intention, that during the tyme they remayned Legates there with him, they should endure thereupon at his handes any thing vnworthy of the Apostolike Sea. But let vs followe the Legates in their returne homeward, wherof Iohn of Salisbury sayth this in his Epistell to the Archdeacon of Excester. [The Cardinalles returne, called backe not without confusion, repētance and complayntes, that to pleasure the king they depressed to much the cause of the Church, for one of them, which was Papia, obeyed his will in all thinges, the other also dealing more remissely then beeseemed a man of so great expectation and hope.] Thus Salisbury, who againe after many other things declareth how farre Oddo the Legate peruailed with the king, in these wordes. [I was like to haue let passe what is not to bee passed ouer, which is, how my Lord Oddo a fewe dayes before hee departed from the king dealt more seriously with him to conclude a peace with the Archbishop, whereunto hee answered, that for the loue hee bore to the Pope and Cardinalls hee would permitt the Archbishop to returne in peace to his Sea, and to dispose of his Church and all thinges thereunto beelonging. And because there hath bin long contention about the customes, hee sayde, hee and his children would bee contented

Cod. Vat lib 2. Epist. 105.

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only with thoſe which his Anceſtors had, and (which should bee made apparant) they ſoe enioyed by the oathes of a hundred men of the realme of England, a hundred of Normandy, a hundred of Anioue, and his other principalityes: and if this condition of peace diſpleaſed the Archbishop, hee affirmed hee was prepared to ſtand to the arbitrement as well of the Bishoppes of England, as thoſe beyond the ſeas, of Roane, Bayon, and Cenoman, and if this were not enough, hee would ſubmit himſelfe to the iudgment of my Lord the Pope with this reſeruation, that hee would not impeach his childrens right: for during his owne life hee was contented my Lord the Pope should abrogate what hee liſted.

Then demanded the Cardinall how hee would deale with the Archbishoppe and his aſſociates concerning reſtitution which was due and required of him, wherunto hee anſwered, ſwearing with many exquiſite oathes, that hee had beeſtowed all the commodity whatſomeuer hee reaped therof vpon Churches and the poore. But *let the Iewe Appella beeleiue this*, for I will neuer: The Cardinall replyed, vnles hee changed his courſe, and dealt more mildly with the Church of God, as well Almighty God as his Church would ſooner then hee expected, require all theſe more ſeuerely at his handes, and ſoe taking his leaue hee departed.

Afterwardes came William of Papia to him almoſt in the ſame manner, but the ſeede of his wordes fell on the ſandes. Then making their returne by the moſt Chriſtian kinge of France, they recouered his fauour vpon condicions which this bearer shall reporte vnto you. Hetherto Salisbury, who concerning matters which afterwardes enſued ſignified moreouer in other letters thus. [Now doe I endure the firſt yeere of my

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exile, and wheras I wanted heeretofore nothing now behould I finde abundance of comforte, beecause the liberty of the Church seemeth euen now at hand, and now hath partly set her foote in the Iland; for the king hath renounced (as Messingers from the Cardinalls protest) certayne most wicked customes which neuertheles hee was beefore accustomed to challenge, detesting with anoathe both them and their first authors, agreeing withall that heereafter it shall bee lawfull to appeale to the Apostolike Sea, that Clearks shall not bee drawne before the secular Tribunalles, with the like, which I wish hee would soe approue by deede, as hee affirmed in worde.] Thus wryteth hee concerning these affaires. And this was lastly the conclusion of this Legantine Embassage; other matters ensue in the end of this present yeere.

Salisbury in an other Epistell hauing discourfed of the state of the Church beeing then imbroyled by Fredericke the Emperour, and Paschall the Antipope, descendeth to the troubles of sainct Thomas, Pope Alexander beeing then at Beneuent, where (sayth hee) the Embassadors of the king of England and the Archbishoppes agents mett together, in the presence of his Holines, and both partyes were gratiously and honorably entertayned; and for those appertayning to the king, as the iustice of their cause was lesse, soe was their pompe with ostentation of their riches much greater. But when they were not able with their flatterys and faire promises to winne my Lord the Pope, then turned they to threates, fayning that their king would rather embrace the errors of Norandinus (the chiefe ringleader of the Mahometanes) and bee a fellowe of that profane Secte, then endure Thomas any longer to enioy the Archbishoppricke of Canterbury. But the man of God could neither bee shaken with

Cod. Vad. lib. 2. Epist. 62.

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feare, nor ſeduced with flattery, and laying before them two ways the one of life, the other of death, anſwered, they might eaſilie (as they had beegune) contemning the grace and patience of God, make choyſe of the way of perdition, but hee by our Lordes aſſiſtance would not forſake the way of righteouſnes. Their hope therfore in shorte tyme beegan to quayle, and ſeeing they could not in this courſe preuayle againſt iuſtice, they ſent into Cicilie the kinges Embaſſadours and letters (for they came armed with theſe) to the end that by the aſſiſtance of the king and queene of Cicilie they might obtayne ſomewhat of my Lord the Pope againſt the Church: But the moſt Chriſtian king of France ſeeing this flattery of the malitious commended to the elect of Panorma the cauſe of the Church and of my Lord of Canterbury, as his owne. Meane while came the meſſingers of the Legates (whom the king of Engl[ā]d had procured) diſagreeing each from other; for whatſomeuer one ſayde in the Courte, the other denyed; and of theſe likewiſe is it yet vncertayne what they ſhall relate backe to their Lordes. Supplication was therfore made on the beehalfe of the king and the Legates with the aſſiſtance of many other interceſſors to my Lord the Pope for the Bishop of Salisbury, and in the end they obteyned that his Holines forgaue him the iniury and offence donne to himſelfe, and did alſoe wryte to the Archbishop of Canterbury, entreating and conſelling him to remitt the wrong the Bishop had offered him, and releaſing him of the ſentence of ſuſpenſion, receaue him into his fauour and freindship, allwayes prouided that either in his owne perſon hee ſhould giue him ſecurity for ſufficient ſatisfaction, or elſe diſigne two, beeing the cheifeſt of the Clergie of his Church except the Deane, and ſend them ouer who ſhould ſweare how

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their Bishop had authorized them to make an oath, wherby they shall protest in the name and place of their Bishop that he shall satisfy for his iniury and contumacy against the Archbishop. Wherby it may bee probably gathered that my Lord the Pope did either neuer knowe of the Legates sentence for absolution of the sayd Bishoppe, or otherwise hee neuer esteemed it of any validity. The same Bishop had obtayned before letters allmost purporting as much, wherin neither hee nor his were obliged to any oathe, but as yet hee hath made no vse of them, either beecause they displeased the king, or in regarde they were not soe effectuall. What will be the succesſe on either side was vncertaine at the returne of the bearer heereof; but my Lord the Pope hath answered the most Christian king that hee will not fayle to succor the Church of God, and his frind of Canterbury, as long as with iustice hee can releiue them. Now let vs passe to the parlee which was beetweene our kinges, &c. in such sorte as was described this selfe same yeere, wherby you may perceaue that both agree in tyme yeere and month, being the same wherin this author wrote these letters. Lastly towards the end of this yeere, besides other Embassadors formerly sent, the king of England addressed two more ouer to Pope Alexander which were Reynold and Iohn the Deane of Salisbury; and the same tyme also Saint Thomas directed his agents to his holines, their names were Alexander and Iohn whom afterwardes by letter he admonished of the trecherous falshood of Reynold, saying: [Haue a continuall eye and watch vpon our aduersaryes, and especially that Bastard of fornication, the enemy of the Churches peace, the sonne of a Preist, Reynold of Salisbury, who euety where (as much as in him lyeth) defameth and slaundereth our person, exclayming wee are traytors,

Cod. Vat. lib. 2. epist. 7.

Lib. 3. epist. 66.

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and that wee gaue him our promiſe not any way to moleſt his father.] And a litle after. [Hee affirmeth moreouer, if our Lord the Pope ſhould departe this world, hee would cauſe vs to bee blotted out of the booke of life, vaunting that in the court of Rome all thinges are ſoe ſett to ſale as with the bounty of rewardes he could purchaſe any thinge. Hee likewiſe moued the king of England to beecome ſutor to our lord the Pope, that his Holines would graunte authority to any Biſhop in England to crowne his ſonne and conſecrate Biſhoppes, to the end hee might (were it but in this) deceaue the Pope: and when the king anſwered that (as hee thought) hee could neuer obtayne theſe demandes of his holines, Reynold replyed: the Pope ſhould deale like a foole if hee would condeſcend to your requeſtes.] Thus much of the kinges Embaſſador; wherby you may ſee (reader) what manner of fellowes they were who accuſtomed to back-byte and detracte the high Biſhoppes of Rome. Concerning, the other his aſſociate Iohn deane of Saliſbury, that which hath before bin ſpoaken plainly declareth him to bea mā of greater villany. What theſe the kinges demandes were, and how inſtantly hee ſued for them, and how many and greate men were his mediators ſhall bee declared heereafter in place conuenient. It is beſides apparant that the king in the end of this yeere did by his Agentes ſolicite all the Cittys which were ioyned in league to Pope Alexander, beeſtowing a huge maſſe of money among thē, and carefully endeauored to winne the king of Cicillie and the nobility of Rome to bee his, that all might bee interceſſors to the Pope to procure the accomplishment of his requeſtes againſt Saint Thomas: but how Pope Alexander beehaued himſelfe, you ſhall heare in the beeginning of the next yeere.

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Meane while the king of France, after the Legates were departed dispatching this busines, taking vp the matter soe fallen to the grownde, endeauored to bring the king of England and Saint Thomas to a mutuall parlee in his presence, hoping by these meanes to reunite them in a league of peace. What the passage of that meeting was is exactly sett forth in Quadrilogus in the end of the second booke; and in regarde this seemeth to bee omitted in the epistles, the Register of them, beecause his epistolary history may not bee defectiue heerin, hath soe placed in this volume this discourse before the epistles, as they ensuing and following in order one after an other, doe manifest the whole proceedinges euen to the very end; by reason wherof there wanteth no assistāce of any history in the epistles, but only this of the parlee written on this wise in Quadrilogus or the Quadriparte history out of Hubertus.

The king of France laboring a peace betweene the king of England and Saint Thomas bringeth them to a parlee.

[My Lord the king of France seeing his Holines carefull to conclude a peace, himselfe as the sonne of peace and obedient to the Apostolike prelate, interposed his endeauors with all labor and attention, whervpon at diuers parlees, which passed betweene him and the king of England, hee brought thither with him the Archbishoppe, placing himselfe as an arbiter of peace betweene them; Among all which there was one meeting where it was reported to the king of England that the Archbishop of Canterbury would referre the whole cause to his owne will, and therfore the king entertayned this his comming more gratiously. Many of both sydes assembling to see the end, my Lord of Canterbury fell downe at the king of Englandes feete, saying: I committ to your discretion the whole controuersy which hath bin the grounde of dissention betweene vs, with reseruation only of the honor of God. The king hearing the addition of these last wordes,

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was offended beeyond meaſure, abuſing him with many reproches, vpbrayding him much, caſting many thinges in his teeth, condemning him for a proude, inſolent, and vngratefull man, who forgot his royall bountifull liberality ſoe often extended to him.] Alanus added. [Hee ſayde beeſides to the king of France, marke (my Lord) if it pleaſeth you, this man, let any thing not fit his owne humor, hee preſently condemneth it as contrary to the honor of God, wherby he will challenge not only his owne, but alſo whatſoeuer beelongeth to mee, and that it may appeare I withſtand not the honor of God, nor yet of him in any thing, this is myne offer. There haue binne kinges of England my Predeceſſors, who haue raygned beefore mee, of greater or leſſer authority then my ſelfe; and in Canterbury haue bin many Archbishops beefore him of great worth and holines; what therfore the more eminent and vertuous of his Predeceſſors haue done to the leaſt of my predeceſſors, let him but giue the like to mee, and the controuerſy shall be concluded. Wherupon followed an acclamation on all ſydes that the king had ſufficiently humbled himſelfe.

The defence of Saint Thomas and his cauſe.

Here muſt I needes ſay, I meruayle greately how the king durſt appeale to the exemples of the Archbishoppe of Canterburyes Predeceſſors, of whom it is euident that many of them did conſtantly reſiſt the kinges who did violate the Eccleſiaſticall liberty, and vpon that occaſion ſuffred many yeeres exile and banishment, among whō what great afflictions ſainct Anſelme, and after him Lanfrancke (who liued vnder this king Henry's Granfather) for the ſame cauſe endured, is in the former Tome ſufficiently declared. But let vs returne to Alane who Proceedeth thus in Quadrilogus.

[While the Archbishop for a litle ſpace ſeemed ſilent;

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the king of France burst out in these wordes: My Lord Archbishop will you bee greater then holy men? Will you bee better then Peter? what question make you? Loe peace is euen at the dore. To whom the Archbishop replyed. True it is (quoth hee) my Lord, my Predecessors were much better and greater then my selfe, and many in their ages, allthough they did not absolutely destroy all, yet neuertheles did cut of some weedes which were extolled against God, for had they cleane rooted out all, what had bin now left to enkindle against mee this fire of temptation, wherby now beeing tryed in the same fornace with them, I may with them bee found alsoe worthie of the same praise and glory: yea God much better prouiding for mee it is come to passe that I haue labored soe securely in their lot and meritt, as I may bee partaker of their trauell and rewarde; neither yet if any of them came shorte or exceeded in any thing, am I bound to followe him in his want or excesse; for wee reproue Peter in deniyng Christ, but wee commend Peter by all meanes who resisted the Tyranny of Nero with the losse of his life, and why truly but beecause Peeter would not yeeld to him in that wherin hee could not without the losse of his soule dissemble? and therfore with conquering his enemyes, hee dyed as to the flesh; and with such pressures as these the Catholike Church hath ryssen and encreased: Our fathers haue suffered beccause they would not endure the name of Christ should bee drawne into subiection, and should I bee restored into the fauour of a man, with suppressing the honour of Christ? God forbid (quoth hee) God forbid.] Wherupon the peeres of both kingdomes turned all against the Archbishop, imputing, the want of the peace to his arrogancy; one Earle among the rest openly protesting, that in regard the Archbishoppe

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reſiſted the counſell and determination of both kingdomes, hee was not heereafter worthy of aſſiſtance from either, but caſt out of England should no longer now bee entertayned in France, whervnto is added by Herberte.

[When the parlee therefore was thus diſſolued, euery one returned home not without great murmuring, the Archbishoppes aſſociates in exile beeing lefte in exceeding diſpaire. The kinges had no ſooner ended this conference, but they haſtily tooke horſe and departed neither ſaluting nor yet beeing ſaluted of the Archbishoppe. Yea alſo the king of England, who beefore ſlandered the Archbishoppe fowly to his face, now in his departure among other thinges, inſulting ſayde, how hee had that day reuenged him on his traytor; in like ſorte the Courtiers, who had bin Mediators for the peace, did at the laſt in his preſence deepely charge him, that hee was euer proude, allwayes highmynded, wiſe in his owne conceypte, à follower of his priuate fancy and opinion; adding moroeuer, it was an exceeding miſcheife and an immeaſurable dommage and danger to the Church that hee was euer inſtauled a gouernour thereof, and that the ſame beeing partly ruinated allready by him, would now bee inſtantly and vtterly ouerthrowne. But the Archbishoppe ſetting a watch beefore his mouth whenas ſinners banded againſt him, was made to thoſe who vpbrayeded and inſulted ouer him as a man not hearing, and with humility anſwered gently ſaying: Beeware (brother) leaſt the Church of God bee deſtroyed by you, for by mee (God willing) it ſhall neuer bee: and the man to whom hee directed his ſpeech, was Iohn, by birth an Engliſhman, but then Bishop of Poytiers, one by reaſon of long acquaintance and ſociety very familiar, deere and acceptable to the Archbishoppe; But to others

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bthers who reuyled him hee made no answer, beeing vndoubledly his Disciple, who, when hee was curſed, accurſed not againe, and when hee ſuffered, threatened no reuenge. And thus hee departed from the parlee in France, as hee did beefore from the Parliament in North-Hamptonne, beeing made a reproache to the rich, and contemptible to the proude, and hee with his aſſociates returning, followed the king of France whoſe lodginges were prepared in the Caſtle of Mount-Mirable. The Archbishop had beefore lodged in this Caſtle with the king, who by his Courtiers did euer prouide him liberally of all neceſſaries; But the king did not then condeſcend (as in other parlees hee had bin accuſtomed) to ſee the Archbishop in his lodging, whereupon it was preſently coniectured that the king ſtood not ſoe well affected to him now as beefore; yet neuertheles the Archbishop shewed himſelfe pleaſed and contented, neither was his countenãce proceiued to bee any whit altered in this reſpecte, wherin may bee conſidered the conſtancy of this renowned man together with the inuincible courage of his mynde, who in a world thus exceedingly croſſing him, shewed none or very little trouble or ſigne of care.

Departing on the next morrowe from the Caſtle and comming that day to Charters, many of the people (according to the cuſtome) mett together to ſee the paſſengers, and asking who they were, when they vnderſtood the Archbishoppe of Canterbury, was there, they pointed at him with their fingers, who knewe him not, that hee was the man, and ſaying, (though ſoftly) among themſelues: Loe heere the Archbishoppe who yeſterday in parlee would not deny God for the kinges, nor ſubiect the diuine honor to their willes. And many times after as

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hee trauelled thorough France diuers of the people in this ſorte extolled him. Leauing Charters hee came with the beſt ſpeede hee could to Senon.] The Compiler of the epiſtles addeth thus: [When hee had therfore paſſed three dayes in the company of the king of France, in ſuch ſorte as neither the king himſelfe nor any in his name came to viſitt him, and whereas in buſines of this nature my lord of Canterbury was wont to bee maintayned by the kinges liberality, now after the parlee, and for the tyme that I tould you hee had nothing at all beeſtowed on him, but that ſometymes the Archbishop of Senon, otherwhile the Bishoppe of Poytiers or ſuch like his brethrē, moued with his miſery in paſſing by him releiued him as a Beggar, a thing terrible to all his followers, beeing quite diſtitute of all worldly helpe. Hauing thus ended the third day of this lamentable iourney, whyle they ſate in their lodging diſcourſing together heereof and deuiſing whether to goe, my lord of Canterbury with a well contented countenance, as if hee had taſted no aduerſity at all, and abſolute againſt all Fortunes power, applying his ſpeech to his mournfull company, ſmyling ſayde: againſt mee are all theſe forces bent, and I once taken away, there will bee none left to purſue yee further; &c. Bee therfore comfortable, and feare nothing. Nay rather (quoth they) wee take pitty on you, not knowing which way you cā turne your ſelfe, beeing a man of ſoe greate authority, and thus left by your cheifeſt and laſt frindes. To Allmighty God (anſwered Canterbury) I committ the care of my ſelfe, and ſince the dores of both kingdomes are now shutt againſt me:] ah other way is now to bee taken: I haue heard that about Araris a riuer of Burgundie, and from thence to the countrey of Prouince men are of a more liberall and free diſpoſition, to theſe will wee all trauell on foote, who

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perhaps vpon ſight of our afflictions will take compaſſion of vs, and furnish vs with victualls for a tyme, vntill our lord shall better helpe vs; for God is able euen in the deepeſt pitt of diſtreſſe to releiue vs, hee is worſe then an infidell who deſpayreth of Gods mercy.

And Gods mercy was inſtantly at hand, for a certaine ſeruante beelonging to the king of France comming to them haſtely, ſayde: my lord the king calleth yee to his Courte. That hee may (quoth one of them) banish vs the kingdome: you are noe prophet (anſweted Canterbury) nor the ſonne of a prophet, doe not then foretell euill tydinges. Comming therfore they found my lord the king ſitting with a ſad countenance, and not according to his cuſtome ryſing to my lord of Canterbury, which was vpon the firſt ſight an vnluckly preſage, where they ſate ſtill after this cold inuitation and remayned long in ſilence, the king hanging downe his head, as if with greife and againſt his will hee deuyſed which way hee might diſpatch them out of his kingdome, and they no leſſe fearing the king who breaking out into teares, and with ſobbing ryſing vp on the ſubdaine, did proſtrate himſelfe at my lord of Canterburys feete, all there preſent being amazed, and my lord of Canterbury bowing low to lifte him vp; the king in the end hardly comming to himſelfe (ſoe greate was his greife) ſayde: Truly (my lord and father) you only did ſee; and redoubling his ſighes with ſorrowe, truly father (quoth hee) you only did ſee, for all wee were blind who gaue you counſell againſt Allmighty God, that in your cauſe, yea in his diuine cauſe you should at the pleaſure of man neglect the honor of God, I repent mee (father) I repent mee withall my harte, pardon mee I beeſeech you, and abſolue mee wretch from this offence, and heere I caſt at the feete of God and you my kingdome, and from this

The king of France repenting, greatly humbleth himſelfe to Saint Thomas.

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tyme forward doe promiſe neuer to bee wanting to you and yours in any thing, ſo long as (God willing) this life ſhall laſt. My lord of Centerbury therfore abſoluing the king, and giuing him his benediction returned ioyfully with his followers to Senon, where the king of France maintayned them royally vntill their teturne into England.

Vpon reporte wherof the king of England ſendeth worde to the king of France, that hee maruelled very much how or with what reaſon hee could in iuſtice maintayne Canterbury againſt him, ſeing in his owne preſence hee ſoe humbled himſelfe with readynes to endure all courſes of iuſtice, neyther yet that hee was any impediment to hinder Canterbury from recouering his peace, which hee proudly and contumeliouſly reiected, wherfore (quoth hee) the king of France ought not heereafter to yeeld any releife to the diſgrace and reproche of his liege man. Whereunto the king of France replying, ſayde: Goe meſſingers and reporte this to your king, that if the king of England will not endure the cuſtomes, which hee calleth ancient, though (as ſome affirme) not agreable to the law of God, yet as appertayning to his royall dignity, to bee any way abrogated; much leſſe can I of right ouerthrowe that lawe of liberality, which together with the inueſture of my Crowne falleth to mee by inheritance; for France hath bin of ancient tyme accuſtomed to receaue all diſtreſſed and afflicted perſons, eſpecially them who were banished for iuſtice, and vntill they recouered peace, to fauor protect, and defend them, the grace of which honor and excellency ſhall neuer by Gods helpe, during my life vpon the requeſt of any man bee diminished or denyed to Canterbury beeing thus exiled. And ſoe far concerning the ſpeech that paſſed beetweene the king

The renowned anſwer of the king of France to the king of England.

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of France and the Agents of the king of England, which euery wise man will accompt worthie to bee written in letters of Golde.]

ANNO DOMINI 1169.

Now ensueth the yeere of Christ 1169. with the second Indiction, when Pope Alexander refusing absolutely to yeeld to the king of Englands requestes propounded in his last Embassage, and constantly perseuering in the restitution of Saint Thomas vnto his Church, determined yet againe to send other Nuntios for regayning Saint Thomas his Archbishoppricke; Whereof meeting to treate, it is first necessary to lay open what the king demanded of the Pope, which consisted of two principall pointes; one that Saint Thomas beeing remoued out of France, might bee called by his holines to Rome; the other that hee might bee translated to an other Sea. But with what trauaile and exceeding cost the king endeauored to bring his purpose to passe and winne the Popes good will, certaine letters secretly written to Saint Thomas, doe in this sorte declare: [In regard that through the Allmighty worke of God, the cause of Christe and of his Church is now restored to that security as it cannot heereafter bee endangered, because the Ring-leaders of this Scysme are quayled, and the hammer of the Church of England beeing taken captiue in the workes of his inuention, cannot as now find any on whom hee may relye, beeing driuen to the last cast, hee made these dangerous attemptes, when by solliciting as well the courte as the Scysmaticke Friedricke with his complices, hee sawe hee could not that way any whit prenayle against our Lord and his anoynted, hee fledd by his Embassadors to the Cittys of Italy, promising to

Cod. Vat. lib. 2. epist. 79.

The new and terrible attempts the king of England gainst Sai Thomas.

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thoſe of Millane three thouſand mearkes towardes the ſtrong reparation of their walls, if they together with the other Cittys, which they attempted to corrupt, could obtayne at the Popes hands the depoſition or traſlation of the Archbishopp of Canterbury; for the ſame purpoſe did hee likewiſe promiſe to Cremona 2000. mearkes, to Parma a thouſand, and as much to Bononia. But to my lord the Pope hee made offer to deliuer him with a layges of money from the exactions of all the Romans, and giue him more ouer ten thouſand Mearkes, granting beeſides that hee should ordayne at his owne pleaſure Bishoppes as well in the Church of Canterbury as in all other vacant Seas through out England. But beecauſe his greate promiſes extennated his credit in accomplishments, and that hee was in his demandes conuinced of manifeſt iniquity, hee receaued repulſe: yet what of himſelfe hee was not able to procure, hee aſſayed to extorte by the power of the king of Cycillie. But neither hee, allthough the Bishop of Syracuſa and Robert Earle of Baſſauile laboured heerin, with their vttermoſt ability and the mediation of many interceſſors, was heard, notwithſtanding his royalty, power, or fauor, which hee enioyed amply in the Church of Rome. The kinges Embaſſadors were therfore diſmiſſed, and their demandes reiected, this only beeing graunted, that my Lord the Pope, should ſend Nũtios anew for procuring of peace which were Gratian the Subdeacon, and Maſter Viuian Archdeacon of the ancient Citty, who was accuſtomed in the Courte to execute the office of an Aduocate.] Thus much was ſignifyed by ſecrett intelligence, for without expreſſing any name the Inſcription is thus: *A frind to his frind.*

Saint Thomas vnderſtanding thus much, and alſo at what tyme hee should bee called to Rome by Pope

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Alexander, was wonderfully troubled, and wryting to Cardinall Humbald Bishop of Ostia, after many complayntes, speaketh thus of this matter. [In regarde wee will not transgresse the law of God with giuing place to the iniquity of Tyrantes, hee endeauoreth without any neceſſity, beesides all vtility, and against authority to translate vs to an other Church, and beecause wee refused to followe him, when hee allured vs to accompany his sinne, hee requireth wee should bee called vp vnto you, that in our passage hee might make some bargaine whatsomeuer with the consortes of his iniquity for the effusion of blood; for what other meaning can hee haue in soliciting those of Millane, Cremona, and Parma by corruption of bribes to our destruction? Wherin haue wee offended those of Papia or other Cittys of Italy? Wee neuer gaue them cause to procure our exile. Wherin haue wee aggreeued the sages of Bononie, who, moued by prayers and promises, would yeeld their consent to the cause of our ruine, which only by relation they vnderstood? Assuredly wee neuer banished Robert de bassauylle, and yet hee was by siniſter suggestions induced to bee a meane to you for our banishment, neuertheles afterwardes peaceauing trechery and repenting this offence, he entreated that his vniust petition might not bee admitted. Richard the elect Bishop of Syracusa entised with a hopefull bayte of the Bishoppricke of Lincolne, assisted our persecutors with money, strengthened them with counsell, and armed them with power; Concerning the king of Cicillie himselfe, in whose countrey you lately remayned, they promised him in mariage the king of Englands daughter, to make him their owne for the ouerthrowe of the Church and vs.

Did not they by distributing their bread, entertayne as their hirelinges the family of Lyons, the nation of

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theeues, and other the moſt powerfull Romanes, not ſoe much to bowe as to breake the Church of Rome? Nay they promiſe to purchaſe peace with the Emperor and Saxons, and beeſides with their bountifull guiftes of many to drawe all the Romanes to doe their fealty to my Lord the Pope, if they will but ſatisfy the king of Englands deſire in our ouerthrowe. You ſee how ſecure a paſſage, what abundant prouiſion the dilligence of man had heere prepared for vs. Vndoubtedly hee cared not greatly how our Creditors might bee ſatisfyed, how ſufficient neceſſaryes might bee miniſtred to our companions, (if any happily might bee found to trauaile along with vs) how the charges of the iourney might bee ſupplyed with ſufficient meanes for the banished multitude, who now after fiue yeeres exile was to bee lefte poore, afflicted and forſaken in the middeſt of ſoe great calamityes. Truly with the ſame dilligence of theſe purueyers and harbingers (becauſe wee cannot bee perſwaded to call the kinges name into queſtion) may the houſe hould ſtuffe and prouy ſion of our hoſtes bee poyſoned, and hardly can that man bee ſecure of his life whom the Commander of the family where hee lodgeth, lyeth in wayte to kill. And that wee may not heerin bee tedious in circumſtances of wordes; As long as this life lafteth, we will neuer vpon any ſummons hazard our ſelues to ſo many and ſo great imminent dangers, for if a man will vpon euery occaſion runne deſperately to death, hee may with a knife or a halter more ſpeedily finish his dayes.] Afterwards hee proceedeth to rehearſe what in the end of the laſt yeere is declared concerning the endeauors of the king of England to depriue Saint Thomas of the king of Frances protection, which wee may receaue from the reporte of his owne mouth, for hee ſayth:] The king of England ſent lately his Embaſſadors the Bishop of

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Sagia and Archdeacon of Canterbury to the moſt Chriſtian, king ſoliciting him with entreaty to bannish vs out of his Dominion; but the man replenished with God, anſwered, that hee receaued by inheritance this law from his anceſtors, and that it had bin euer the cuſtome of the kingdome of France kindly to entertayne all ſuch as were banished for inſtice, and afforded them due and cõuenient courteſyes and comfortes; and affirmed hee would neuer vpon any occaſions whatſomeuer leaue ſo laudable an inheritance, being ſo acceptable to Allmighty God, Adding moreouer that hee receaued vs from the handes of my Lord the Pope, whom only in earth hee acknowledged his Superiõr, and therfore hee would neuer for any Emperor, king or wordly Potentate deſiſt to fauor vs and our cauſe, ſo long as neceſſity required, in regard God was on our ſyde, and wee ſuſtayned iniuryes and loſſes in defence of his lawe. With this anſwer hee diſmiſſed theſe confounded Embaſſadors, and beecame to vs (for which God reward him) more louing and liberall then before, although hee hath bin euer both kind and bountifull. Hee ſaith beeſides hee will in this cauſe of ours make tryall of the ſincerity and vigor of the Church of Rome, together with the vertue of our Lord the Pope, whoſe faith and conſtancy hee exceedingly commendeth, beecauſe hee reioyceth that the king of England hath receaued at his handes a repulſe in his vniuſt demaundes.] Thus ſaith Saint Thomas of the king of France: wordes worthy to bee engrauen in greate letters of Gould.

But as the faith together with the conſtancy of Pope Alexander was hitherto well knowne to continue vnmoueable in the defence of iuſtice and truth, ſoe did it heereafter perſeuer euen to the very end vncorrupted, which notwithſtanding hee gouerned with ſweetenes

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and temperance, leauing nothing vnattempted before hee would denounce the king to bee excommunicate, and ſubiect his realme to Interdiction, which cauſed him to make eſpeciall choyſe of men who were moſt famous for eminence integrity and ſingular learning (I meane) the fore recyted Gratian nephew to Pope Eugenius that moſt renowned Bishop, (for ſoe much doth Iohn of Saliſburyes epiſtle to the Bishop of Poytiers ſignify) and Viuian a perſon of excellency as beeing a diſcreete and worthie Aduocate of the Romane Church. And how far the commiſſion extended which they receaued from Pope Alexander, is thus ſent in a ſecret relation of a certayne frind before rehearſed, vſing theſe wordes in the Concluſion. [Notwithſtanding all this the Pope reſtrayned theſe Nuntioes with the obligation of an oath to a preciſe and confyned forme of peace, in ſuch ſort as they should not exceede their limited boundes, commannding alſo ſeuerly that they should abſtayne from receauing any rewardes of the king, or burdening him with expences, vnles the Churches peace were firſt procured, nor yet make any longer ſtay beeyond the ſetled day aſſigned them.] Concerning the forme of peace (as it was expreſſed for the Bishoppe) it contayned nothing dishonorable or derogating either from the Church or his perſon, or in any reſpect diminishing his authority, but that hee might freely without impediment of any occaſion or Appeale excerciſe the Eccleſiaſticall ſeuerity on the king himſelfe, the kingdome, or any perſons of the realme, in ſuch ſorte as hee knewe expedient for the Church of God, vſing neuertheles therin the counſell of his freindes and men of diſcretion, that while the treatis of peace continued, hee should more mildly proceede, and wincke at many thinges; but if afterwardes, (which God forbid) they preuayled not for

Two Nuntioes ſend by the Pope to the king of England. Cod. Vat. lib. 3. epiſt. 12.

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peace, hee should arise (as one returning to his former strength) to prostrate with greater power the Churches persecutors. And this was there written concerning the commission giuen by Pope Alexander to his Nuntioes by whom hee sent this letter to Saint Thomas. *Ibid. epist. 1.*

[Wee haue receaued lately the Embassadors and letters of the renowned king of England, and wheras hee demanded therin of vs certayne greate and difficult matters, for obtayning wherof they laboured earnestly and vehemently with vs, yet neuertheles they could not incline our mynde to satisfy their desire. But that they might not haue any reason or occasion to complayne of rigorous proceeding on our parte, or that wee refused in any thing to yeeld vnto them, following the steppes and examples of our Predecessors (who wee doubt not are Saintes) wee determined with all kindnes modesty, and sweetnes, to recall the king from his peruerse purpose, to mitigate his mynde, and asswage his cruelty; wherupon it came to passe that wee by the graue aduise and counsell of our brethren, decreede to send to the kinges presence our deerely beeloued sonnes Gratian the Subdeacon our notary, an honorable and learned person, whom for the memory of our holy father of sacred remembrance our Predecessor Pope Eugenius, and in regarde of his owne most sincere fidelity and ready seruice, wee esteeme euery way deare and acceptable, and with him Master Viuian who for his long experienced frindshippe, wisedome, and learning wee loue most intyrely; by whom and also by our letters wee admonish his Maiestie with all care and dilligence as much as in vs lyeth, that restoring to you his peace and fauor, hee would recall you honorably to your Church, and suffer you and yours to rest in all peace and tranquillity. Wherfore wee entreate you and aduise your brotherhood that carefully weyghing

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the difficultyes and malice of the tyme, and conſidering with your ſelfe how our forefathers haue beehaued themſelues for auoyding ſuch ſtormes as theſe in dayes of like extremity, you would endeauore by all meanes, as far as with preſeruation of the honor of your place and office may bee donne, to recouer the fauor and good-will of your kinge, and labour to mitigate his mynde, in shewing ſuch patience, gentlnes and meekenes, as none may iuſtly ſay your ſelfe was in faulte, wherby his loue and kindneſſe was not fully obtayned; wee requeſt alſoe your wiſedome, yee wee warne counſell and command you that before the departure of our Nuntioes you proceede not in any ſentence againſt the king or any perſons of his kingdome, or againſt the realme it ſelfe: and if perchance (which wee beeleeue not) you haue allready pronounced any, you doe now ſuſpend the ſame vntill that tyme bee expired: all which wee ſay to the end wee may take away from him all occaſion and matter of complaynte, and by ſuch meanes ouercome the hardnes of his harte. But if it fall out otherwiſe (which God forbid) wee will by no meanes depriue you of your authority, but rather preſerue the ſame intire, and carefully affourd you therin our aſſiſtance and counſell. The reſt which remayneth wee haue left to bee declared by our Nuntioes, to whoſe words wee wish you to giue creditt, and alſo to yeeld to their counſells and exhortations.] Thus did Alexander wryte to Saint Thomas, and likewiſe to the king of England other letters in theſe wordes.

Ibidem epiſt. 3.

The Popes letter ſent by his Nuntios to the King of England.

We haue receaued with fatherly loue your Maieſties letters which you ſent vs by our beeloued ſonnes Reynold of Saliſbury and Randulphe Archdeacon of Laua beeing both of them wiſe and diſcreete men, and withall carefull and dilligent in the buſines committed to

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their charge, and with attention and consideration haue wee heard the contentes of the same. And when wee had fully vnderstood your royall demandes, as well out of the substance of your letters, as the relation of your Embassadors, and had together with our brethren taken long aduice therupon, it could not appeare to vs that wee might with our honor and the estimation of the Church yeelde to any of them in such sorte as you required; notwithstanding to the end wee may in all thinges, so far as standeth with the glory of God and his Church, assent to your Maiestie, and that you may bee resolued that what wee doe, proceedeth not any whitt out of obstinacy but necessity, wee haue sent to your royall presence our beeloued sonnes Gratian the Subdeacon our Notary, together with Master Viuian, beeing both of them graue and discreete men, and most deare and acceptable as well to vs, as the whole Catholike Church, by whom wee haue at large signifyed to your Maiestie our pleasure and will, and with all what shall concerne your honor and aduancement, and ought truly to bee most conuenient for your royall dignity. And wheras wee vnderstood out of your Maiesties letters that you haue soe farre ouercome your will and mynde in the busines concerning our venerable brother Thomas Archbishoppe of Canterbury, as for the reuerence you beare to the Church and vs you will suffer him to returne home and quietly enioy his pastorall office in peace, yeelding to you what of duty hee oweth; wee embrace the same as a thing most gratefull and acceptable to vs, giuing therfore the greatest prayse and thankes wee can vnto the diuine clemency which hath heerin vndoubtedly inspired your harte, instantly beeseeching your Maiestie, yea and inioyning you for the remission of your sinnes that in this importunate matter you will respect rather God

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then man, and ſubmitt your ſelfe heerin only for the loue of our Allmighty Lord. Concerning that you ſayde was ſignifyed to your Maieſtie of vs and the alienation of our affection from you, it is not conuenient your diſcreete wiſedome ſhould credit euery ſpirit, ſince there are many detractors and ſlanderers in whoſe wordes (howſoeuer they ſeeme) there is neuertheles no truſt to bee had; and for our partes wee haue a will and deſire to loue you with all our harte, as our moſt deare ſonne in Chriſt; nor any way to proceede ſeuerely againſt you, vnles (which God forbid) your ſelfe enforce vs therevnto. Dated at Beneuent the day beefore the Kalends of March.] Wherby you may conſture what tyme the Nuntioes vndertooke their iourney.

Cod. Vat. lib. 3. epiſt. 2. But the ſame Pope wrote an other letter to the ſayde king in ſubſtance like, although ſomewhat longer on the ſixt Ide of May or March, for the word to the reader ſeemeth vncertayne.

Concerning the tyme when the Nuntios deſcended into France wee may well coniecture the ſame by the letters of Iohn of Saliſbury wrytten to the Archdeacon of Exceſter, who thus declareth in what ſorte hee mett them. *Ibidem epiſt. 5.* [I came lately in the feaſt of Saint Mary Magdaleine to Viziliake where I encountred my Lord the Popes Nuntios: vpon occaſion (to learne what my Lord of Canterbury might heereby either hope or feare; for theſe newes (as it is thought) poſſeſſed the tongues and eares of both kingdomes, and not only thoſe of the Clergie, but for the moſt parte alſoe the Layety. I deſired to ſee the man who boare my name, for he was called Iohn which ſignifyeth grace whēce Gratiā is deriued, ād which is more my Coūtrymā and in a ſorte my brother; Gratian (to whom as you remēber) you were aſſigned to be Tutor and Teacher

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at Ferentyne by Eugenius the Pope of late holy memory; I name him confidētly my brother with whom I obserue the same lawes of fayth and society, and although wee had not both our originall in one Citty, yet no man will question but wee are both of one countrey, who calleth to mynde the countrey of Christes souldiers, a place common to vs both, and whereunto charity directeth vs. Beeing therfore receaued kindly and with respect, as well by him as his Associate Viuian, they declared in familiar sorte vnto mee that my Lord the Pope and the Church of Rome did fauor greatly the Archbishop of Canterbury, yea soe far forth, as vnles the king according to the counsell of his holines did conclude a peace with my Lord of Canterbury, they were to denounce to his Maiestie that hee should not only bee yeelded vp into the Archbishoppes handes, but that the Pope himselfe would also proceede seuerely against him.] And a litle after. [And truly the Nuntios haue a forme prescribed them, the limitts whereof they dare not attempt to breake, beecause they are by an oath bounde therunto; in such sorte as they are commanded, vnles peace bee established, to forbeare soe precisely from receauing any of the kinges rewards, as they were not permitted to take any thing for defraying their charges.] Now as touching the proceedings of the Nuntios afterwardes, there is a most exact relation of a secret freind (I suppose by all likelyhood it was Peter of Bloys) who remayning with the king, did by priuie letters signify to sainct Thomas whatsomeuer hee sawe, which wee will heere set downe word by word: for thus it was. *Ibid. & E. pist. 6*

The meeting beetweene the king and the Popes Nuntios.

On the day of the Assumption of our Blessed Lady were deliuered at Argenton vnto the king my Lord the Popes letters concerning the Nuntios, vpon per-

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uſall whereof the king was much troubled : On the morowe hee ſent Iohn Deane of Salisbury and Reynold to meete the Nuntios. On ſaint Bartholmewes Eue the Nuntios came to Danfront, whoſe approach whē G. Rydell and Nigell de Sackeuylle vnderſtood, they ſuddainly and ſpeedyly departed from Danfront; why they conueyed themſelues away in this manner is ſufficiently knowne vnto you. On the feaſt it ſelfe late towards the Euening the king comming from the woodes, before he would goe to his owne lodging, wēt to the Nuntios, receauing them with honor; and while he ſtood as yet diſcourſing with them, my Lord Henry the kinges ſonne accompanyd with a troope of the nobility euery one of them winding a horne (as the fashion is at the fall of a Stagge) came and preſented the Nuntios with the ſame entyre, which they did to fill the eares of the Nuntios , and make a showe to the people. On the morow about one of the clocke came the king to the Nuntios lodging , and with him the Bishoppes of Sagia and Rodon entred their chamber; after a littell pauſe Iohn Deane of Salisbury and Reynold the Archdeacon were admitted to the conference, and euen preſently alſo the Archdeacon of Landaff, where ſtanding vntill nyne of the Clocke they talked together ſometymes in peace ſometymes in anger and tumulte : My Lord the kinges intention was, that the excommunicated Clearkes should not bee ſworne. A little before ſun-ſet the king departed mightily enraged, greiuously complayning on my Lord the Pope, that hee would neuer yeeld to him in any thing , and in a diſdaynfull fashion ſayde, By the eyes of God I will take an other courſe. To whom Gratian gratiously replyed: My Lord threaten not, for wee dread no threates, beecauſe wee are of that Court which hath bin accuſtomed to rule ouer Emperors & kinges.

anſwer. Gratians

Then

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Then were called together all the Barons and white Monkes, I meane Cistercians beeing there presente, with all those of the Chappell, and my Lord the king requested them, that when tyme required, they would witnes in his beehalfe what and how greate offers hee made for restitution of the Archbishoppricke and confirmation of peace, seeming in the end with some contentment, to departe, and assigning the eight day following for his resolute answer.

At which appointed tyme vpon summons came the Bishoppe of Roan, and by chance hee of Burdeux to Genoman together with all the Bishoppes of Normandy, the Bishop of Worcester was not there on the day when these thinges were to bee hādled and treated of but beeing expected, on the morowe came thither, excusing himselfe in regarde of a Prouincial counsell that hee held ot Poytiers, which beeing once determined, hee profered then his ready attendance. The day after the Kalends of September the Nuntioes presented to the king at Bayos my Lord the Popes letters, wherin his Holines beesought him to graunt restitution and peace. The king making a preamble of all such matters wherewith hee was accustomed to charge you, sayde: if I doe any thing for this man vpon my Lord the Popes entreaty, hee is bound to render mee great thankes therfore.

On the morow assembling with the Nuntios all the Bishoppes at a place called Lebur, and as soone as they came, the king entred into a place called Parte together with the Bishoppes, none elsse but such as were especially called by name being admitted, and presently the king went to counsell with the Nuntios alone, beeseeching them to absolue the Clearkes without tendering any oath, which when they resolutely denyed to doe, my Lord the king hasted to horse, and

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getting vp swoare in the presence of all there, that hee would neuer dureing life harken againe to my lord the Pope or any other for your peace or restitution. Whervpon all the Archbishoppes and Bishoppes there present came to the Nuntios beeseeching them for Gods loue to accomplish his requestes, whereunto with great difficulty they assented, which beeing graunted, the king alighted and beeganne againe to consult with them, and presently after calling all (who were in peace) together, the king beegan to discourse saying: Hee would haue them all vnderstand, that you departed not out of England at his instance, and that he had often recalled you backe againe to returne and giue him satisfaction for such matters as hee alleadged against you, and you euer refused, but now the case soe stood, that hee vpon the entreaty and commandement of my Lord the Pope did fully restore vnto you your Archbishoppricke, and peace to all those who for your sake departed his dominion. This graunte of peace the king confirmed about nyne of the clocke, remayning, afterwardes very pleasant, and causing certaine other matters to bee handled in his presence, which beeing finished, hee returned again to the Nuntios, desiring them that the Bishoppes might goe ouer into England for absoluing them who were there excommunicate. Which when they absolutely denyed, the king grew angry, and made a new request: that at the least one of them would passe ouer while the other remayned there, and if that were distastefull to them they would send but one of their Cleakes, whom hee would enrich with reuenues beefore his returne: all which when Gratian (who as wee hope is the sonne of grace) againe denyed, my lord the king beeing very much inraged, departed away saying in their hearing, Doe what you like, I weigh neither you nor your exco-

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munication, nor prize them the value of an egge, and with these wordes hee mounted on horseback to gett him thence, but the Archbishoppes with all the Bishoppes followed, telling him, that hee spoake impiously, Afterwardes hee alighted and consulted with them, in which counsell was concluded; that all the Bishoppes should wryte to my Lord the Pope certifying him, how the kinge in their hearing offered yoū peace, and was in euery point ready to obey my Lord the Popes commandement, but the Nuntios were in fault, wherby it was not performed.

Afterwardes hauing wasted a little tyme in indighting these letters, and the king as one enflamed with a wonderfull fury, leaning them often, the Bishoppes commingeto him sayde, what would these Nuntios haue? And showing him my Lord the Popes Mandate, inioyninge them to accomplish the Nuntios commandement, the king answered, I know, I know, they will interdict my land, but cannot I, who am euery day able to take a most strong Castle, take one Clearke who shall interdict my land? Yet when in the end they yeelded in some degree to satisfy his desire, the tempest of his anger was layde, and returning to himselfe hee sayde: vnles yee conclude this night a peace, yee shall neuer come so neere this point againe, and when they had awhile trauelled in the busines, assembling them all together, hee vsed these wordes: It is conuenient I should doe very much at the intreaty of my Lord the Pope, beecause hee is our Lord and father, in regarde wherof I restore to the Archbishoppe his Sea with my peace, and the like to all those who for his sake haue departed the land. Wherupon the Nuntios and all there present thanked his Maiestie, and then the king moreouer added: If I haue not as now donne sufficiently, I will to morowe by your ad-

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uyſe ſupply what is yet wanting.

On the morowe beeing the Kalends of September about twelue of the Clocke they aſſembled together, ad hauing long treated aboute abſoluing the Excommunicate without obligation of oath: it came to that paſſe as G. Rydell with Nigellus de Sackeuyle and Thomas Fitz-Bernard laying their handes on the Bible there preſent ſayde, that in the word of truth they would accomplish the Nuntios commandement. Then was it required of the Nuntios, that all they vpon whom my Lord the king in this tyme of diſturbance had beeſtowed your Churches might enioy them according to the tenor of his Maieſties guifte: but as wee heard, the concluſion was that they should bee left free to your diſpoſition. Afterwards it was determined the Bishoppes should ſet downe in wryting the forme of peace which the king had granted. And this did the king to the end that one of the Nuntios should paſſe ouer into England for abſoluing the excommmunicate. And beeing departed vpon theſe termes after three howers within night, the king ſayde hee would haue inſerted in the articles of peace theſe wordes; *with the reſeruation of the dignity of his kingdome;* wherunto (as wee heard) Gratian abſolutely denyed euer to yeilde, and vpon this word as yet they differ, determining to retturne on the Natiuity of Saint Mary the Virgen to Cane, there finally to conclude more fully the whole buſines. Thus farre concerning the meeting of the Nuntios with the king.

Gratian is highly commended who would neuer condeſcend to admitt this forme of wordes, cõcerning which Iohn of Salisbury wrote in this ſorte to Iohn Bishop of Poytiers. [Many conceaue a hope that the ſonne of grace (whoſe name agreeth with his actions) the Nephew of bleſſed Eugenius will ſincerely pro-

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ceede according to the Euangelicall truth, the glory of the Apostolicall Maiestie, and the honor and peace of the distressed Church; for hee knoweth assuredly that taking this course hee shall purchase to himselfe eternall glory beefore God and men: And in regarde hee findeth but few vpon whom hee may boldly rely, I beeseech you to cõfirme and strengthen in our Lord his constancy: The king by Gods fauour is well able to pay, and for penitents it is certayne, the sinne shall not bee forgiuen vnles what is wrongfully taken away bee restored &c.] For wheras hee thought there was no reconciliation of peace without restitution of the goodes taken away from the Church, Salisbury prayssing these his proceedinges sayth: [The king (God willing) is well able to satisfy, and penitents may bee assured they can neuer obtayne remission of their sinnes, if what they haue taken away bee not restored when they haue ability to doe it, for otherwise it is not pennance but a fayned Hypocrisy] And hee againe as touching absolution giuen without promise of satisfaction, and also concerning that clause *with preseruation of the dignity of the kingdome*, beeing the wordes which Gratian reiected, sayth moreouer: [If the king haue his will to inserte in the articles of agreement *The preseruation of the dignity of his kingdome*, hee hath the victory for confirmation of his customes with only alteration of the wordes, *and hath banished cleane out of England all the Authority of the Roman Church*: But God forbid that euer assent should bee giuen to any of these, and I am assured my Lord of Canterbury will rather make choyse of banishement during life, then for recouering his peace, the Church of God should sustayne damage, or the Apostolike Sea bee depriued of her priuiledge; Perswade therfore my Lord Gratian to proceede warily in all affayres, but aboue all in these

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Articles, leaſt (which God forbid) hee bee deceaued by the ſuttle wittes of lurking Foxes.] You ſee his vnaduiſed arrogancy, hee who the laſt yeere (as you haue heard) ſcorned peace beecauſe ſainct Thomas endeauored to mayntayne that forme of ſpeech which was: I commend the whole cauſe to your diſpoſition with the reſeruation of the honor of God, for which only wordes hee reuyled the ſainct with ſlanders and reproches, now extolling himſelfe aboue all whatſoeuer is worshipped, hee would not haue the reſeruation of the honor of God, but the preſeruation of his kingdomes dignity concluded in the conditions of peace.

A new forme of peace deuiſed by the Bishoppes.

Beecauſe, therfore the Bishoppes, who were elected by the king to penne the forme of peace, could not perſwade the Nuntios to admitt the forme afore ſayde; they deuyſing with themſelues an other forme of peace, did by the Bishop of Roane ſignify the ſame to the king in theſe wordes.

Cod. Vat lib. 3. Epiſt. 3.

Wee could by no meanes obtayne of the Nuntios to admitt that forme of peace which you left with vs in regarde of the Clauſes that as well by you as them were ſet downe on either ſyde both manifould and doubtfull; and for them to departe abruptly, and with deſpaire of peace, ſeemeth neither agreable to your honor or profitt: hauing therfore conſidered many wayes with our ſelues, wee happened in the end on ſuch a forme of wordes wherin there is not the leaſt derogation to your dignity and honor, nor yet can bee miniſtred heereafter to Canterbury any cauſe of contention: which is thus: *That for the loue of God, and reſpect to our Lord the Pope you giue the Archbishop leaue to returne into England and cauſe him to haue his Archbishoppricke as amply as hee enioyed the ſame beefore his departure, and alſo reſtore to them who either with him or*

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for his cause left the kingdome, their owne againe. For this shorte and playne forme of wordes pleased vs best, because it seemeth not enwrapped in any suttell deuises or suspitions, wherupon wee consell and perswade you that you question not to yeeld your assent therunto. And thus much Roane deliured to the king.

But the king vnderstanding by the Bishoppes that the Nuntios would in no case admitt the former clause which was, *The reseruation of the dignity of his kingdome*, beeing greatly incensed with anger did instantly heerupon send away two Embassadors to Pope Alexander with letters farced with complayntes requiring also the Bishoppes whom he assembled for this purpose to wryte by the same Embassadours to his Holines, word by word to the same effecte, all which are yet extant. But Viuian one of the Popes Nuntios perceauing how the king addressed Embassadours in this sorte to his Holines, fearing they should any way vndermyne him, determined instantly to send a messanger Post, by whom hee certifyed the Pope in wryting the true and faythfull relation of all their proceedinges hitherto; out of the contents whereof, besides the fore recyted dealinges, let vs heere lay open such occurrences as beefell after the Nuntios, fayling of their purpose, departed from the king. These are the wordes. *Ibid. Epist.* 19. 20. 21. 22.

The Bishoppes beeing very earnest on the kings beehalfe that wee would admitte these wordes, *with reseruation of the dignity of the kingdome*: Wee answered, wee will agree to the wordes of the king, so as yee will consent to the wordes of our Lord, wee meant *with preseruation of the liberty of the Church*, which they would not allowe; neither yet the king, allthough hee knewe that the liberty of the Church consisted in the honor of God, as hee sayd, would neuertheles in any *Ibid. Epist.* 26.

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caſe ſubſcribe therunto; and beeing not able to preuayle againſt vs in theſe formall wordes, they made rather choyſe, that the Archbishop (as before is ſayd) should ſafely returne to his Church, and with good peace and ſecurity receaue the ſame in as ample manner as hee inioyd it before his departure without mention of any condition either on the one ſyde or the other, and his followers in like ſorte reſtored to their owne; and at their inſtance wee condeſcended therunto. Laſtly beeing called by the king to Roane, wee came thither with a labourſome iourney, and to conclude hee ſignifyed to vs by his Agents in the Courte of the Archbishoppe that hee would neuer bee diſſwaded from thoſe wordes, *Sauing the dignity of his kingdome*: ſoe as neither the firſt, nor ſecond, not yet the third forme of wordes deuyſed by the foreſayde perſons could on all partes bee approued, and in this ſorte (moſt bleſſed father) wee departed; wherupon wee commanded the Archbishoppes by their obligation of fidelity, wherin they ſtood bound vnto vs, to denounce to them whom wee had abſolued vpon aſſurance of the oath which they ſwore to vs, and to declare to their Lord the king, that if peace enſued not before our departure, they should looſe the benefitt of their abſolution, and bee inuiolably ſubiect to the ſentence pronounced againſt them by the Archbishop of Canterbury. And thus far concerning our proceedinges with the king in theſe matters.

Wee ſignifyed afterwardes the kinges formall wordes to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who enduring all with patience, was willing alſo to preſerue the dignity of the kingdome, ſo far as it might ſtand with the conſeruation of his order, and his fidelity to the Church of Rome; and if any one ſhall certify you to the contrary concerning this buſines, bee your Holy-

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nes perſwaded neuertheles that it is no otherwiſe then wee haue reported; neither yet in regarde my Lord Gratians name is not ſubſcribed to theſe letters, doth it therfore followe that hee ſawe them not, nor carefully peruſed them], but that happened in reſpect hee haſtened to returne, and required theſe letters might bee more breifely contryued: All which wee wryte that your Holines may giue no credit to the kinges Agents againſt vs before our returne.] And addeth laſtly, that in the end hee ſent a Meſſinger to the king named Peter Archdeacon of Papia, who beeing kindly entertayned by the king, but nothing prevayling in his motion of peace, was in his returne ſpoyled of all hee had, and one of his campany beeing endangered for his life, was hardly reſcued. The determined day appoynted by Pope Alexander for concluſion of the peace was the feaſt of ſaint Michael the Archangell, which beeing once paſſed, they who were abſolued vpon this expectatiō of peace muſt now fall backe againe into their former ſentence of excommunication inflicted on them by Canterbury, concerning which the letters are yet extant which Gratian did wryte to the excommunicated. *Cod. Vat. lib. 3. Epiſt. 36.*

But why, after this prefixed day, when Gratian did according as hee was commanded preſently returne, Viuian remayned neuertheles behinde, is heere to bee shewed out of the letters of ſaint Thomas. The expected tyme preſcribed by Pope Alexander beeing expired, not only Gratian but alſoe the Archbishop of Senon who was called in as a Mediator of peace betweene the king and the Archbishoppe, departed both together from the king, which taynted him with no ſmale diſgrace, for redemption wherof not knowing what to doe, hee deuyſed as his laſt refuge to retayne Viuian in the trafficke of peace, with *why Viuian remayned beehinde after Gratians departure.*

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a certayne aſſurance of accomplishing the ſame, who not ſuſpecting any deceypt or falshoode to lurke vnder the Maieſty of a king, repoſing all confidence in him, as one ſecure of peace did congratulate with his freindes for his proſperous ſucceſſe therin, indighting alſo theſe letters to ſaint Thomas the Archbishop of Canterbury.

To Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury Maſter Viuian wisheth health with victory to ouercome this inſtant trouble to the honor of God and his Church.

To the end wee might with my Lord of Towers or his Meſſingers make our ſpeedyeſt returne to the Courte, wee left Towers, and on the fourth of the Kalends of Nouember receaued the letters of the king of England, the Archbishop of Roane, and the Archdeacon of Canterbury, by the handes of the Prior of Bee and an other beeing a noble Gentleman, the copys whereof wee ſent to your bleſſed ſelfe, beeſeeching you not to liſten to any Clearkes ſuggeſtion, allthough hee bee moſt eminent in dignity, vnles you haue firſt the kinges letters patents, which (as it hath bin often propoſed) beeſeemeth beſt your honor: and we entreate moreouer that you ſend inſtantly to vs a Poſte or ſome Clearke by whom if you pleaſe, you may ſignify your will to vs, neither yet bee you ſoe much addicted to Maſter Gratian, as to contemne in our perſon the honor of your moſt deere freind, the cheife Aduocate of the Roman Church. Thus far to ſaint Thomas after the receypt of the kinges letters for his returne to the Courte.

But vpon Viuians comming to the king how hee proceeded with his Maieſtie, his letters to ſaint Thomas fully declare, congratulating with him more openly for the concluſion of peace in theſe wordes.

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[Blessed bee God and the father of our Lord Iesus Christ, who beeyond the opinion of many is now euen ready to vnite in the surest band of charity the walls that were disioyned by the suggestion of the wicked. Beeing recalled wee returned to his Maiesties presence, where by the operation of the diuine grace wee found those proceedinges wherin the honor of God and his Church was no whitt violated: If therfore you haue now receaued any message from the most Christian king of France and my Lord of Roane (as wee certaynly suppose you haue) wee are very gladd therof, for soe was it appointed, and, if Master Iohn of Salisbury your Clearke and our most deere companion is returned to you (as wee hope hee is) wee reioyce therin, beecause hee hath a message to you. But (reuerent father) whatsoeuer it is, wee beeseech you, and beeseeching counsell you on the beehalfe of our Lord the Pope and the Roman Church, that setting all feares a syde, you would bee willingly present at saint Denises the first Sunday after the feast of saint Martyne beeing the place and day appointed for conference beetweene the two kinges, beecause you shall there (God-willing) heare the Angelicall Hymne: *Glory bee to God on high, and peace on earth to my Lord of Canterbury &c.*] And thus far Viuian concerning an assured peace. But saincte Thomas knowing more inwardly the kings suttlety, neither yet (as it was conuenient) hauing any confidence heerin, and beeing suspiciously fearefull, answered with this letter beeing of greater weyght, as well for wisedom as grauity.

Ibid. Epist. 9. Viuian deluded with a vaine hope.

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Thomas by the grace of God the humble seruant of the Church of Canterbury, and Legate of the Apostolike Sea, to Master Viuian his faythfull freind and Aduocate of the holy Roman Church wisheth health and in all thinges rightly to consider & vnderstand.

Ibid. Epist. 10.

Weyghing with my selfe the Legantyne power committed to your charge, and the busines imposed on you, I see nothing hath yet miscaryed in the substance of the matter by your trauail to my Lord the king of England, no dangers hath hitherto bin to the authority of him who sent you, nothing attempted, sayde, or donne to our discommodity; for soe far forth, as this action extendeth it selfe, hauing accomplished the office cõmended to your care, were the successe either good or ill, the prefixed tyme which limiteth your Legantyne boundes ought to make you, beeing a man learned in the lawe, and professing the knowledge therof, on all sydes sufficiently circumspect. Be ware therfore that you are well aduised, and proceede wisely, least you bee made a fable and deryſion among the nobility. But if of your selfe you haue vndertaken a new created Legantyne authority, let him obey the same who is interessed in it, and him vndergoe the burden, to whom the profit appertaineth, for myne owne parte that Iurisdiction no way commandeth mee. And thus hee wrote because the tyme of his Legantyne power was now expyred, and himselfe bound no longer to obey, but whatsomeuer hee did was of his owne free will, and therupon addeth afterwardes: [But in that you exhorte vs to descend to a parlee appointed betweene the kinges on the next Sunday, at Saint Denyses; as wee cannot out of your mandate vnderstand with what

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certainty, what reason, or what hope of peace you require it thus instantly, soe on the otherside wee very much wonder how you are in this sorte inuited to summon vs; yet for the reuerence wee beare to the sacred Roman Church, and for the loue wee owe you, wee will (allthough wee are suspended in vncertaintys and feares) vpon your request giue you meeting (God willing) on Fryday at the Castell of Corbule, that wee may better learne from your owne mouth what fruyte wee may reape by your labor and trauaile, and what honor and grace your selfe may gayne therby. God be with you and blesse you soe as you be not taken in the trappe which hardly any can auoyde who traffickes with them.] Thus Saint Thomas, and truly no false prophet, as will appeare by the sequell.

But concerning the proceedinges from the tyme of the recalling of Viuian vntill his departure, being after the meeting of the kinges at Paris, there remayneth an ample relation in the letter of Saint Thomas written to the Archbishop of Senon in these wordes.

To the reuerent father and his most deere freind William by the grace of God Archbishop of Senon, Thomas the humble seruant of the Church of Canterbury wisheth as much as the deuotion of a banished and distressed person can.

It is impossible the mynd of the wicked should rest beeing continually gauled with the pricke of conscience, and tormented with an endles feare least hee should euery instant receaue the due punishment of his desertes; and soe is his troubled soule euer oppressed with care, as while hee wayteth himselfe in false suspicions of his well meriting and intirest friends, through the defecte of his owne falshoode, hee deemeth the faith to bee wauering in others

Cod. Vat. lib. 3. epist. 60.

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which hee knoweth to bee wanting in himselfe: Thus the king of England, vpon reporte of your iourney as one guilty of his iniquity and dreading the lawes seuerity together with the perseuerance of vertue which you haue and doe exercise in our lord, is affrighted exceedingly least your holy selfe should bee armed with Legantyne authority ouer his principalityes on this syde the sea, because there is not any one beesides your selfe in the whole Church who dareth withstand him in repressing and confounded his malice: neither yet in the Church of Rome (as his followers witnes) doth hee stand in awe of any but my Lord Gratian, beecause if his vauntes bee true, whosoeuer besides vpon any occasion haue had any accesse vnto him, were heeretofore euer bowed to his will, yea sometimes with the taynte of a sinister opinion. Vnderstanding therfore that you and my Lord Gratian were returned, hee was soe much distempered, as hee could not dissemble his myndes disturbance, saying hee should by yee two bee constrayned to make a peace or sustayne an eternall ignominy with the greate damage of him and his: in regarde whereof hee recalled Master Viuian beeing partly by the letters of my Lord of Roane and G. Rydell, and (as Viuian in the publicke hearing of many confessed) gaue him his corporall faith, that in the reformation of the Churches peace hee would subiect himselfe to the Popes Mandate and his counsell: hee caused moreouer letters to bee signed with his owne seale (which Viuian shewed publickly at his pleasure) wherin was promised that for the loue hee bare to my Lord the Pope, hee would restore to vs the Church of Canterbury together with all the possessions taken away from vs & ours, and peace also with security: that by these powerfull meanes he might more easily draw my Lord Viuian to treate agayne of peace, which hee seemed to seeke for feare of you and my Lord Gratian, whatsoeuer any other doth glory: but concerning things taken

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away, hee made no mention saueing only a shewe that if in the Conclusion of peace wee would submitt our selues to his pleasure, hee would make vs the cheifest of his kingdome, and neuer suffer vs to want.

Master Viuian therfore beeing thus recalled, and remayning confident in his wordes, the king with a fayned pretence of deuotion went to saint Denyses, but in very deede to compasse what hee allmost brought to passe, which was to circumuent the most Christian king: for they conuenanted in the parlee at saint Denyses, that our king should deliuer his sonne Richard into the king of Frances handes to bee brought vp and instructed by him; and moreouer hee should summon the Earle of saint Gyles to appeare at Towers there to answer the sayde Richard, concerning the Earledome of Tolouse, for the place seemed in the iudgment of wise men most conuenient, where eyther parte with their assistants might with greatest safety assemble, the Aduocates on eyther syde more freely pleade, and the iudges without any feare or delay giue sentence against the person whom reason conuinced. My Lord the king of France and Master Viuian with some others of great discretion inuited vs to the conference, that wee beeing at Paris, and our king at saint Denyses, our peace by reason of the neighbouring places might bee more commodiously handled, where the often named Viuian more earnestly and diligently pressing the king to performe faythfully his promise, hee according to his accustomed manner flew of from it, beehauing himselfe in such sorte, as Viuian returning backe to vs sayd openly in the presence of very many; hee could not remember that during his life hee euer sawe or heard of soe deceytfull a person, yea hee forbore not to tell the king to his very face beefore diuers (as they declared afterwardes to vs) his mynd playnly, and reprouing openly his double and deceytfull dealing, recouered agayne for the most parte his reputation, which

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beefore hee had greatly wronged, lamenting much that hee was euer ſo entrapped by his ſuttle fraudes. Which wee ſignify the rather vnto you, beecauſe if in his returne to the Church of Rome, hee ſhall preſume to fauor the ſyde or couller the wayles of this cunning deceauer, your deuotion may lay open playnly before my Lord the Pope and the Cardinalls the whole truth of the buſines: For euen as it happned by Gods appoyntment that my Lord Gratian ſhould returne, hauing worthely diſcharged his office, and that you whom God (wee ſpeeake it proſperously) hath placed in his Church as a moſt conſtant pillar, and to whom the manners of this man are apparantly knowne, ſhould haſten your iourney to the Apoſtolike Sea; euen ſo wee deeme it hath by the ſame prouidence bin permitted that Vivian contrary to his myndes intention, ſhould remayne in France, to publish, with renowme the iuſtice of the Church, and manifeſt far and wyde her glory, wherin the king of England by the very man who fauored his cauſe, ſhould bee more perfectly diſcouered to thoſe whom hee commanly before deceaued, and the fallacy of his wordes beereafter far leſſe beeguyle our Lord the Pope and his courte, that beeretofore were too credulous in beeleeuing him.

Whenas the king of England departing from ſainct Denyſes, paſſed on his iourney neere the Montayne of the Martyrs, wee preſented our ſelues before him, humbly beeſeeching him by the Meditation of the reuerent Lordes the Biſhoppes of Roane and Sagy; with others who aſſiſted in this buſines, that for the loue of God, and my Lord the Pope hee would reſtore to vs his peace, and to ours his fauour, peace, ſecurity, poſſeſſions; with other thinges wrongfully taken from them, tendring him our ready ſeruice ſo far forth as any Archbiſhop ought to performe vnto his Prince. Whereunto hee anſwered that for his prate hee forgaue very willingly frō his hartes all offences

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and quarells cõceaued against vs, and for such thinges as were obiected against him, hee was ready to stand to the iudgment of his Lord the King of Frances Courte, or the determinatiõ of the Church of the same kingdome, or the sentence of the vniuersity of Paris; Wherupon wee replyed that if it pleased him, wee would no way refuse the iudgment of my Lord the kinges Courte, or the Church of France; yet if it liked his Maiestie: wee had rather haue with him a louing composition then a litigious controuersy, and if hee would gratiously restore to vs and ours, our Church possessions and other thinges iniuriously taken away, and yeelde vs his grace, peace, and security in the kisse of peace, wee were ready to receaue the same, desiring hee would restore one halfe of the goods wrongfully with houlden from vs vnto the Church for discharging the debtes of vs and ours, for repayring dilapidations, ordering our Graunges, and deliuering from diuers necessitys the Church which hath bin by the wastefull spoyle and deceyptes of his officers cast into the depth of calamityes: and that our petitions might not seeme to exceede reason and the couenantes, for auoyding the kinges wauering vncertainty, becing set downe in wryting, might remayne more authenticall, wee caused to bee presented to him this supplication, which you shall heere withall receaue, beeing temperately corrected according to his owne Agents desire, to the end the world may know we that wee will refuse no condition of peace which is any way tollerable in the Church of God. But the king hauing heard our petition read, which was approued by all, in regarde of our moderate demandes, answered in his mother tongue, couching his ambiguous wordes in that obscurity (a thing vsuall with him) as to the simple hee seemed to graunt all our requestes, but to the iudgment of the wiser, intermingled all with tedious and insufferable conditions, yet they all agreede in one, which was, that hee no way consented

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to receaue vs in the kiſſe of peace, and this made the Chriſtian king ſay: that hee would not for all the gold our king was worth, counſell vs to ſettfooting in his land, without hauing firſt receaued the kiſſe of peace. And Count Theobalde added, that to doe the contrary were a moſt foolish preſumption: many of the aſſembly diſcourſing much amonge themſelues, and calling to mynde what beefell to Robert de Silliacke, beecauſe not this very kiſſe appeared in him a ſufficient warrant for the maintenance of his peace and ſecurity: nether yet would hee afforde vs this anſwer vpon the mediation of the foreſayde Bishoppes the Arbiters of peace (as wee hoped) neither vpon the inſtance of any others, yea while wee awayted his reſolution hee turned away towards Medantan. Then was preſented to him on the way my Lord Phillip the bleſſed ſonne of the moſt Chriſtian king, whom (as they ſay who brought him) our king ſowerly beeheld, ſlenderly ſaluted, and haſtily diſmiſſed. Moreouer (hee ſayth) the king of France, *who accompanyed him on his iourney departed from him diſcontented, hauing apparantly ſeene the diſpoſition of his mynde, ſubuerting all thinges with ſuttletyes.* And afterwards hee wryteth thus of his attempting Viuian with brybes.

[And thus wee returned without any anſwer from the king to the place of our repoſe, which Allmighty God had prouyded for vs, caſting our hope on him who neuer forſaketh ſuch as truſt in him, and attending the comforte wee expect from your charity. But for the king of England he ſent a meſſinger with twenty Mearkes to Maſter Viuian, intreating him yet once agayne to vndertake this reformation of peace, which money (as wee certainly heare) hee refuſed, anſwering him by letter, the copy wherof wee haue heerewithall ſent you, nether is there any thing ſoe much vrgeth him to ſeeke for peace, as the feare hee conce-

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aueth of the iourney intended by your selfe and my Lord Gratian to his Holines, nor yet doth he insinuate himselfe with Viuian for any other end, but to preuent that hee fall not into the Lord Gratians handes and yours. Moreouer wee vnderstand hee hath sent Gyles Archdeacon of Rone, Iohn of Oxeforde, and Iohn of Segia to the Courte, of purpose to worke, that wee may not haue any Legantyne authority granted vs ouer his land, nor any thing else which may bee incommodious to him or the Earle of Flanders, you partly knowe the messingers, but perchance are better acquaynted with vs, who by your fauor are conuersant with you; Since therfore the king of England, is stroaken with so greate a feare by reason of your sanctity and the faithfull dealing of my Lord Gratian, whereof hee ha'h had experience, it is most euident, that if my Lord the Pope had at the first rather terrifyed with the power of a high Bishoppe, then indured him with the charitable loue of an indulgent father, the Church of God had long before this bin cleered of her stormes, and the fury of the man asswaged', who prosecuteth without pitty such as flye and are feeble, and yeeldeth to them who manfully resist him.]

But beecause Saint Thomas highly commended Gratian in regarde of his returne to Rome: For an example to them who on the beehalfe of the Apostolicall Sea shall vndergoe matters of that importance with great princes, we haue set forth here a few lynes out of the Saintes letter written to Gratian in these wordes.

[The endeauors of sinners cannot in the end any way hurte the children of Grace, becausse God suffereth them not to bee tempted aboue their power, directing all things for the benefit of his elect, and drawing miraculously out of the seuerall euents of matters a glorious profitt, and God vndoubtedly respected your *Cod Vat. lib. 3. epist. 63.*

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faithfull dealing, who conuerted Master Viuians stay and the managing of his busines in France after your returne to the glory of your name, making you a God to Pharao.] And afterwardes. [Whosoeuer beeheld the end of the exceeding familiarity which passed betweene the king and Viuian, or heard Viuian discoursing therof protested openly, that among them all who were employed by the Pope to the king of England, Gratian only proceeded aduisedly, &c.] Saint Thomas wrote also thereof to Pope Alexander and Viuian himselfe certifyed his Holines to that purpose. But for the letter which Viuian sent to the king of England vpon refusall of his money, the copy wherof the Bishop of Senon and Gratian (as you haue heard) receaued from Saint Thomas, wee doe heere present it vnto you.

Ibid. epist. 65.

Ibid. epist. 61.

To the most renowned Lord Henry by the grace of God king of England Master Viuian Aduocate of the holy Roman Church wisheth health with a true assent to sound aduise.

Ibid. epist. 62.

How much I haue labored for your honor, how far I haue endeauored that you should to the glory of God conclude your peace with the Church, God himselfe knoweth and your wisedome ought not to bee ignorant: For I haue bin soe forward on your behalfe, as I haue therby lost the fauor of many and greate persons, and am beecome the fable of detracting tongues, which causeth mee to wonder that you haue a will to make mee infamous by corruption of money, whom you would not heare when I counselled you for your honor and profitt: But in regarde I beegan to respecte you with my best obseruance and seruice, and am not accustomed easely to forsake my freindes, I beesech you, and by all meanes possible counsell you to returne to your

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selfe, and confirme with your Charter the petition which my lord of Canterbury preferred to you, and withall to receaue him in the kisse of peace, sending to him and recalling him backe againe before your land bee interdicted, and excommunicated whose names are allready conceaued in the booke of their condemnation, for they are many and your neereſt seruantes; beesides your tyme of respitt is very shorte. Thus wrote Viuian to the king of England. And soe concluded this Legantine office executed this yeere by Gratian and Viuian being Nuntios sent by Pope Alexander to the king of England.

Moreouer when in the middeſt of this serious busines Pope Alexander vnderstood how the king of England would not suffer Bishoppes to bee chosen for the vacant Seas, he sent comminatory or threatening letters of great importance vnto the king, in the conclusion whereof hee threatened thus: [And if truly you will (as you are bounde) haue a care to accomplish that which by our admonitions in the spirit of meekenes and with all humility wee haue forewarned you, you shall vndoubtedly procure therby your glory and saluation, and performe that which to God and vs is moſt gratefull and acceptable; otherwise allthough wee desire earneſtly to loue you as our deereſt sonne and a moſt Christian prince, and to augment the greatnes of your glory, yet can wee no longer withhould the handes of Saint Peeter and vs from inflicting punishment on you, but (as wee ought) dreading rather God then men wee wil endeauor with the authority graunted vs from heauen to preserue the lawes and honor of the Catholike Church pure and vntouched. Dated at Beneuent 7. Ides of Octobr.

The Pope beesides did this yeere publish a constitution againſt such as receaued of the Layety inueſtitures of Churches or their goodes, dated in the moneth of

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May and indighted in thoſe wordes to all the Bishops of England.

[Wee haue receaued as well by a vulgar reporte, as alſo the relation of many how ſince the miſerable contention which for your greiuous ſinnes was rayſed, and yet continueth beetweene our moſt deere ſonne in Chriſt Henry the renowned king of England and our reuerent Brother Thomas Archbishoppe of Canterbury, a certayne wicked cuſtome hath growne in thoſe partes for lay-men to beeſtowe on any at their pleaſures throughout the kingdome of England, Churches and Eccleſiaſticall benefices, and to inueſt Clearkes by their owne authority; wherfore becauſe this is knowne to bee ſoe contrary to the inſtitutions of the holy fathers, as both the giuer and receauer from the lay hand incurreth Excommunication, and alſo in regarde it redoundeth vndoubtedly very much to the ouerthrowe of the Churches liberty, wee by the authority of Saint Peter and vs doe abrogate abſolutely and denounce for voyde all ſuch Collation made in this turbulent tyme by lay men to any perſons of any Churches whatſoeuer; and therfore wee ſeuerely command and in the vertue of obedience ſtreightly enioyne yee all by theſe our Apoſtolicall letters, that with all care yee admonish diligently and inſtantly exhorte all ſuch as haue receaued from the handes of the Layety any Churches, Prebendaryes, or other Eccleſiaſticall benefices wherſoeuer throughout England, eſpecially in this troubleſome ſeaſon, to reſigne without contradiction or appeale into our handes, the ſayd Churches, Prebendaryes or Benefices, together with the profites therof receaued, and to leaue the ſame to their diſpoſitiō, vnto whoſe ordination by the Eccleſiaſticall lawes theſe appertayne; which if vpon our commonition or warning they refuſe to doe within fourty dayes after the receipt

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of these our letters, then yee by our authority setting asyde the remedy of Appeale, and not respecting the feare, fauor or forbidding of any, doe presently pronounce the sentence of Excommunication against them, and cause them throughout your parishes as persons excommunicaed to bee eschewed of all men, vntill they shall resigne the foresayde Churches and Ecclesiasticall Benefices freely vp to them, vnto whose collation and ordination they appertayne, leauing them peaceably and making sufficient satisfaction for the Churches profittes soe taken by them: and if yee are negligent or remisse in the execution heereof, then wee our selues by the anthority wee inioy denounce the sentence of Excommunication against them all, and charge that they bee anoyded of all men as excommunicated by vs, becausse they are knowne to receaue (as aforesayd) Churches or other Ecclesiasticall benefices from the hand of the Layety without assent of the Bishoppes to whom their donation appertayneth, vnles they obey our cammandementes within the former appointed tyme. Dated at Beneuent 14. kalend. Iunij.]

And foure days after hee wrote to the king of England, first commonitory letters of admonition, and then comminatory or threatening letters by certaine Nuntios chosen for that purpose called Symon Pryor of Gods-Mount, and Bernard of Corilo, who were appointed to deliuer vnto the king, first the comonitory letters, and that done (if neede requyred) the cominatory. Both which to the king of England are yet extant, dated this yeere on the eight of the Kalends of Iune, the which his holynes cõmended first to the Bishop of Belleten and the Pryor of the Carthusians, as it appeareth by the letters; but beeing vncertayne whether they wovld cary them to the king or noe, hee

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made choyſe of Symon a moſt reuerent man and Bernard his aſſociate, vnto whom the letters are yet remayning wrytten by his holines concerning this Legantyne office impoſed on them, where hee mentioneth in this ſorte of his letters written to the king. *Ibid epiſt. 1.*

[Deliuer him our commonitory letters inſtantly adding withall in the ſpirit of fortitude and lenity our admonition, if ſoe hee will not harken vnto yee, but rather continue ſtill in his hardnes and obſtinacy, giue him then our cominatory letters declaring to him with all conſtancy on our beehalfe that wee will no longer any way shutt vp the Archbishoppes mouth, nor vnles beefore the beeginning of Lent, a tyme now neere at hand, hee will fullfill what beefore wee haue ſayde, will wee grant heereafter any inhibition, but that hee may by vertue of his office with the ſword of Eccleſiaſticall ſeuerity bouldly reuenge with rigor the iniuryes offered to himſelfe, his Churches and followers: For the king ought not to beelieue or thinke with himſelfe that our Lord, who is yet ſleepeing, will neuer bee awaked, or Saint Peeters ſword is ſoe outworne with ruſt, but that it may bee drawne to worke a due reuenge. Laſtly wee command yee (as wee haue ſayde) diligently to execute theſe our deſignes, vnles our reuerent Brother the Bishop of Belleten and our beeloued ſonne the Prior of the Carthuſians doe performe the ſame in ſuch ſorte as wee required them. Giuen at Beneuent 8. Kalend. Iunii.] On which day alſo were deliuered (as wee reade) the cominatory letters ſent by the Pope to the king of England, that are likewiſe regiſtred in the ſame booke, and dated 11. Kal. Iunij, which Roger in his Chronicles recyteth in theſe wordes.

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Alexander Bishoppe seruant of the seruantes of God to his beeloued sonne Henry the renowned king of England health with Apostolike benediction.

Your royal wisedome is not ignorant how fatherly and mildly wee haue often perswaded and by sundry letters and Nuntios diuers tymes exhorted your Maiestie to reconcile (according as you are bounde) our reuerent brother Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury vnto your fauor, and restore to him and his the Churches with other commodityes wrongfully taken from them, beeing an iniury notoriously knowne allmost to the whole Christian world. In regard wherof beecause hitherto wee cannot any way profit heerein, nor allay with sweete and gentle meanes your destempered mynde, wee conceaue exceeding greife and sorrowe, and lament to see our selues frustrated of our hope and confidence, especially since wee loue most entirely as our deerest sonne in our Lord your selfe, ouer whom wee beehould for this a greiuous danger to hange; and for that it is wrirten. Crye out and cease not, as a trumpett exalte thy voyce, and declare to my people their offences. *And an other where.* Vnles you shall laye open vnto the wicked his iniquity, I will require his blood at your handes. *And in an other place by Salomon*, The sloughthfull man shall bee stoned with the dung of Oxen: *Wee haue resolued no longer to tollerate (as hetherto wee haue done) the hardnes of your harte against iustice with the preiudice of our soule, neither will wee heereafter vpon any occasions shutt vp the mouth of the aforesayde Archbishoppe, but permit him freely to execute his office, and with the swoarde of Ecclesiasticall seuerity to reuenge the iniuryes offered himselfe and his Church. And what is not fully signifyed in these our letters concerning this and the*

Cod. Vat. lib. 4. epist. 4.

Isai. 58.

Eccles. 22.

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reſt, our beeloued ſonnes the Prior of Gods-Mount, and brother Bernard of Corilo, as they who dread rather God then man, ſhall by worde of mouth declare at large to your Maieſtie, vnto whoſe admonition wee beeſeech him, whom to ſerue is to raigne, and in whoſe hands are the hartes of kinges, to incline your mynd and will, that you may rather chuſe to bee bowed, then ſtiffely to continue any longer in the willfullnes of ſoe great an obſtinacy againſt God and your owne ſaluation. But if you will not harken to vs in their perſons concerning thoſe thinges which on our beehalfe they ſhall deliuer vnto you, you may vndoubtedly feare leaſt the reuenging wrath of God will ſhortly fall vpon you.

Now what the proceedinges of theſe Nuntios were, their owne relation which was ſent to Pope Alexander declareth at large in theſe wordes.

Ibid. Epiſt. 8. [Wee trauelled lately together with Brother Bernard of Corilo vnto the renowned king of England to perfect a peace and agreement by vertue of your Mandate betwene him and my Lord of Canterbury: and to bring our purpoſe more eaſely about, wee drew my Lord of Canterbury to the place, where the kinges (God ſoe working) were reconcyled one to an other.] Heere wee ſee the kinges at their late parlee in Paris departed a ſunder diſcontented, and that an other meeting was afterwards appointed, which (wee ſuppoſe) was this. Then hee proceedeth. [Hauing deliuered the king of England your comonitory letters, and hauing done our vttermoſt dilligēce, which wee thought moſt likely to preuayle with him, wee admonished and counſelled my Lord of Canterbury to humble himſelfe to the king and endeauour to aſſwage the rigor of his mynd with lowely prayers and ready ſeruice, in like ſorte the moſt Chriſtian king of France, the Archbiſhoppes, with other Lordes there preſent ioyntly

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perſwaded him: Beeing vrged with the exhortations of the king, Bishoppes and Barons, the Archbishoppe of Canterbury conſented, and in that open aſſembly came to the king of England, and falling downe on his knees cõmended himſelfe to God and the king, ſpeaking to the honor of God and his prince in theſe formall wordes: *To the honor of God* ſoe to procure his peace and fauor. But the king in regarde of thoſe wordes, *to the honor of God*, would not receaue him into his fauor, ſaying openly before them all; leaſt it should bee thought the Archbishop ſought to conſerue the honor of God and not of the king. And after many wordes (which would to God hee had forborne) hee ſayd he required nothing elſe of the Archbishoppe, but that hee as a preiſt and Bishoppe should beefore them all promiſe him in the worde of truth to conſerue without any deceypt the cuſtomes which the holy Archbishoppes of Canterbury had obſerued vnto their kinges, and which the Archbishop himſelfe had once promiſed him to doe. Whervnto the Archbishop anſwered that hee had done him fealty, which hee was bound by the obligation of an oath to keepe inviolable, that is to ſay, life, lymmes and worldly honor with the preſeruation of his order, and all this hee was ready moſt faythfully to accomplish, neither was any whit more exacted of his Predeceſſors, or was to bee requyred of any: But the king ſtanding ſtill moſt peremptorily on this Article, my Lord of Canterbury ſayd moreouer; allthough none of his Predeceſſors had done, yea or vndertaken thus much, nor yet himſelfe was by law tyed any way thereunto, hee profeſſed nevertheles that for obtayning the peace of the Church and regayning his fauor, hee would promiſe, that ſuch cuſtomes as his Predeceſſors had obſerued to their kinges, hee would with reſeruation of his order ob-

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ſerue inuiolably vnto him, ſo far forth, as hee could doe without offending God, and would performe for winning his good opinion againe, what ſoeuer could bee done with the honor of God, proteſting hee was neuer in his life more willing to ſerue him, then to accomplish this, if it pleaſed him to accept thereof. Yet the king refuſed him vpon theſe termes, nor would receaue him vnles hee would preciſely and abſolutely binde himſelfe by oath to obſerue his cuſtomes, becauſe hee required nothing elſe at his handes; which in regarde the Archbishoppe (allthough many did inſtantly perſwade him therunto) would not condeſcend to doe, the king departed without concluſion of peace.

But when (according to your Mandate) wee exhorted the king to receaue the Archbishop againe into his fauor and reſtore him his Church with peace: Hee anſwered. For his Church it may bee the counſell of his freindes might ſoe far preuayle, as in the end hee should render him the ſame againe, but deny'd euer to reſtore him his fauor, for then were the priuiledge voyde, which your Holines granted him, by vertue whereof you ſuſpended the Archbishoppes authority vntill ſuch tyme as hee was reſtored into his fauor.] What this ſuſpenſion was wee will declare heereafter. But to returne to the Nuntios letter, hee thus proceedeth: [And beecauſe you commanded vs to admonish him firſt with the ſpiritt of lenity by your Comonitory letters, wee deferred to another tyme the deliuery of your Cominatory. Meane while wee beeſeech Allmighty God (in whoſe handes are the hartes of Princes) to mitigate and aſſwage his mynde and reunite this peace to the diuine glory, and the Churches vtility. The reſt of your Mandate wee will by Gods leaue in conuenient tyme execute with all dilligence

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and will bee carefull to signify to your Holines the euent of the busines in such sorte as God shall determine it. Brother Bernard beeing desyred to certify your Holines (as wee doe) of the proceedinges and succesſe heereof, answered it was forbidden in his order, that any brother should write to you or others about any affayres, but promised to declare beefore your Nuntio Master Lumbard (who deliuered him your letters) the whole state and processe of the cause, that hee may signify the same vnto you as faythfully and amply as if himselfe had bin there present.] And thus did Symon wryte to the Pope. But what ensued afterwardes, the sayde Nuntio in another relation, sent also to Pope Alexander, layd open in these wordes.

[According to the commandement of your Holines wee deliuered to the renowned king of England your Comonitory letters doing our vttermost labor and dilligence to perswade him, according to your admonition, to receaue my Lord of Canterbury into his fauor agayne, to restore him his Archbishopricke with peace, and suffer him freely to dispose of his Church; wee long expected hoping and praying that Allmighty God would molify his harte. But when by our forbearãcewee profited nothing, we presẽted vnto him in the next parle of the kinges, your cominatory letrers, which hauing at the last with great difficulty receaued vpon the instant entreaty of vs and many noble personages, after many wordes too lõg heere to rehearse, hee answered thus: I neuer banished my Lord of Canterbury out of the kingdome, neuertheless for the reuerence I owe to my Lord the Pope, if hee will performe to mee what hee ought to doe, ãd obserue to mee what his Predecessors haue obserued to my Progenitors, yea what himselfe hath promised, hee may returne in- *Cod. Vat. lib 4. Epiſt. 10.*

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to England, and enioy his peace, And after ſundry diuerſitys of anſwers hee laſtly ſayde: Hee would aſſemble together the Bishoppes of England, and take their counſell, but appoynted no day, nor more could wee gett at his handes, wherby wee might bee aſſured of my Lord of Canterburys peace, or the execution of your Mandate. And beecauſe wee found him often altering in his anſwers, wee demanded of him, if my Lord of Canterbury might returne to his Archbishoppricke, and vſe it in peace. Wherupon hee replyed: That the Archbishop should neuer come within his land before hee did to him accordingly as hee ought to doe, and had vndertaken to obſerue, what other's had obſerued, and what himſelfe had allready promiſed.

Laſtly wee beeſought him hee would wryte and ſignify by his letters patents his anſwer, beecauſe wee ought to declare vnto you a certaynty which hetherto wee had not, in regarde hee varyed ſoe often in his anſwers, wheruuto hee would not agree. But the Archbishoppe (when wee deliuered thus much vnto him) ſayd: hee would bee euer ready to obey the king wherin hee ought, and obſerue whatſoeuer was obſerved by his Predeceſſors ſoe far forth as hee could with reſeruation of his order, but to intangle himſelfe in new obligations that were neuer offered to his Predeceſſors, and vndertake to performe any ſuch without preſeruation of his order, was alltogether vnlawfull for him without my Lord the Popes authority, firſt beecauſe it is pernicious to bring a new forme into Gods Church, and then in regarde hee was forbidden by your Holines euer to make any ſuch promiſe, but with the reſeruation of Gods honor, and of his order. And ſayde moreouer your Holines with rebuking tould him, that hee ought not for ſafegard of his life to

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binde himselfe to the obseruation of such customes, but with preseruation of his order. Yet if the king would (according to your Mandate) restore to him his fauor with peace and the free inioying of his Church together with such thinges as were wrongfully taken away from him and his, hee would most willingly performe at his pleasure whatsomeuer hee could possibly doe without offence of God and breach of his order, and will endeauor most dilligently and deuoutly to serue him with all his power. Please it therfore your Holines to succour the afflicted Church and to perseuer in that, which to your great commendation you haue allready beegunne, beecause (as wee haue heard of many, and doe certainly beelieue) if you perseuer, the peace and redresse of the Church is euen now at hand.] Thus wrote Simon of Gods-Mount after hee had worthily performed his charge, and to the same purpose did the Archbishop of Senon (who was there present) and saint Thomas also, signify to his Holines. *Cod. Vat. lib. 4. Ep. 7. Ibidem Ep. 6.*

Meane while the king of England dealt by his two agents with Pope Alexander, that the authority of saint Thomas might bee suspended vntill this matter were handled by the Popes Nuntios, as it appeareth by the Popes letters to the king, which Roger in his Chronicles of England recyteth in this yeere, beeginning thus. [Your Maiesties Agētes our beeloued sonne Iohn Cumin &c. and written in secret (as the Pope witnesseth in his owne wordes) which neuertheless the king with great vaunting diuulged. For as wee see in the first conference of the kinges, the king of England protracted the peace, least hee should otherwise loose the priuiledge which (as hee sayd) hee receaueth from the Pope, to wit, that the Archbishops authority should bee suspended vntill hee had obtayned

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the kinges peace, vpon occaſion of which graunt, you may conceaue the Pope was hardly ſpoaken of by many; the king of England, who was the only procurrer thereof, in kindling hatred and wrath againſt him, by showing publickly, with great oſtentation and kingly pryde, the Popes letters, and cauſing them eſpecially to bee read in the laſt royall conference, whereof ſaint Thomas wrote thus to Conrade Archbishop of Mountes. [The king of England publickly boaſteth of our ſuſpenſion by proclayming the ſame in the open ſtreetes of either kingdome, and for a teſtimony of my confuſion, and to make mee more burdenſome and odious to the world, hee layeth open the Apoſtolike letters. Hee gloryeth alſo of the terme of the prerogatiue aſſigned him, beeing vntill hee receaueth mee into fauour, which if it remayneth in his power, shall bee at the Grecian Kalendes, I meane, neuer &c.] Wherof hee vaunted vpō this only reaſon, beecauſe Pope Alexander beeing importuned and deceaued by the king, did wryte that ſaint Thomas should ſuſpend his authority ſo long ouer the king and kingdome, vntill hee purchaſſed the kings peace, which benignity of the Pope the king abuſing, did of ſet purpoſe deferre the peace, beecauſe vntill that was concluded the Archbishoppes authority was ſuſponded, by reaſon whereof the Pope was inueyghed againſt, not only by the Archbishoppe himſelfe, but likewiſe by the king of France, as alſo his Queene and many others beeing incenſed with the zeale of iuſtice.

Ibidem Epiſt. 15.

Cod. Vat. lib. 4. Epiſt. 14.

Ibidem Ep. 18. 22.

Pope Alexander therfore aſſaulted with ſo many and ſoe greate complayntes, by his letters to S. Thomas excuſed himſelfe thus.

Ibidem Ep. 19.

Ibidem Ep. 20. 23. 25. 2

Ibidem 16 &

[Wee ſuppoſe your wiſedome is not ignorant how Henry the famous king of England ſent his Agents vnto vs and with what vnreaſonable and iniurious demandes

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mandes, which afflicted much our mynde, they vrged vs on his beehalfe breathing out terrible threates, vnles wee would condescend to his will, wherupon wee in regarde the stormy persecution of the Church is not yet layde, nor the fayre calme of peace, as it was expedient, hath hetherto shined on vs, allthough wee would not graunt his requestes, were neuertheles carefull to temper and asswage the fury and outrage of his mynde, dreading greatly least hee should (as once hee did) ioyne in any league of society with Fredericke the Emperor that tyrant and wicked enemy of the Church to the hindrance and disturbance of her peace, or picke any quarell to departe from the Church and our deuotion: this was the reason that wee, considering the malice of the tyme; did with the ioynt counsell of our brethren by our Apostolicall letters command your brotherhoode (vpon the conceyte of a certayne hope and confidence hee would receaue you into his fauor, and restore the Church of Canterbury to your free disposition) that you should not publish against him or any persons of his kingdome or against the kingdome it selfe any sentence of Interdiction, Excommunication or Suspension, vnles you first receaued from vs other letters wherin should bee signified that if the king would not reconcyle himselfe in peace vnto you, you should haue leaue to execute your office against him and his. Wherfore in regarde we desire to conserue by all meanes to you as our deere brother, also to your Church due honor and liberty, if hee shall not effectually fullfill before the beeginning af Lent what wee hope hee will doe as we haue propounded to him, but perseuer still hardened in his obstinacy, wee doe therestore to you againe your authority, to haue fre liberty without any barre of Appeale to execute the power of your office, as well against the persons as also

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the kingdome, yea the king himſelfe, if you ſhall iudge it conuenient and expedient for your ſelfe and your Church, reſeruing euer that grauity and Pontificall diſcretion which beehoueth you. [Thus wrote Alexander to Saint Thomas, ſending an other letter vnto him alſo to the ſame purpoſe, and certifying likewiſe the king of France to the ſayd effecte. And ſoe the Pope reformed that which the king of England vſed not for eſtabliſhing of peace, but abuſed for the prolonging of diſcorde I meane this priuiledge of tyme graunted without limitation. Theſe letters of reuoking this ſuſpenſion Alexander this yeere commanded to bee deliuered by the aforeſayde two Nuntios vnto the king, who peruſing them was exceedingly moued, exclayming againſt his holmes, that hee had within the compas of one yeere published two decrees contradicting one an other, one beeing for him, the other againſt him, vnles hee would agree preſently to a peace. What enſued afterwardes wee will in place conuenient declare the next yeere.

Cod Vat. lib. 4. epiſt 17. & 51. to the king.

Cod Vat. lib. 3 epiſt. 4. & 23.

ANNO DOMINI 1170.

The laſt Legates ſent by the Pope to Henry King of England on the beehalfe of S. Thomas.

Now followeth the yeere of our Lord 1170. and the third Indiction. When Pope Alexander addreſſed yet onee againe certayne Biſhoppes as Legates to Henry king of England: For which purpoſe he ſelected Rotroche Archbiſhop of Roane with Bernard Biſhop of Niuers, to whom was after added William Biſhop of Senon a prelate of approued fidelity and aſſured integrity: For the better executing of which office Pope Alexander directed his letters (which are yet extant) to either of them ſeuerally, dated after Viuians returne, beeſides others to them ioyntly contayning their treaty to bee had with the king: which was that S. Thomas

Cod Vat. lib. 4 epiſt. 2. & 4. Ibid epiſt 5.

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should returne to his Church and receaue all the poſ-
ſeſſions taken away from his Church; that others exi-
led for his ſake should euery one bee reſtored to his
owne; the king should grant him a perfect peace in a
holy kiſſe; if hee would not yeeld thereunto, beecauſe
hee had ſworne the contrary, hee should performe it
by his ſonne according as hee had promiſed; hee should
abolish and abſolutely condemne the wicked cu-
ſtomes contradicting the Churches liberty, and the
Legates should abſolue from their promiſe the Bishops
who vndertooke to obſerue them; if there were any
hope of peace, they should then abſolue the Excom-
municates, but vnder this condition, that if the peace
ſucceeded not, they should fall backe againe into their
former excommunication without any remedy of Ap-
peale; all which couenantes hee commanded preciſely
to bee performed within the compas of 40. dayes:
And if the peace could not bee perfected within that
limited tyme, nor theſe condicions accomplished, they
should preſently interdict the Prouince on this ſide the
ſeas where the king as then remayned. This was the
charge impoſed by Pope Alexander on the Legates,
as appeareth by his Apoſtolicall letters dated this
yeere at Beneuent 14. Kalend. Februarii. The Pope
ſent alſo diuers letters to others concerning the ſame
Legation, and eſpecially to king Henry him-
ſelfe.

Whilſt this buſines was in hand, there brake forth
à new diſcord: king Henry would haue his ſonne
crowned king by the Archbishop of yorke, beeing
an office appertayning to the Prime ſeate of En-
gland, which is Canterbury; wherfore the Pope vn-
derſtanding theerof directed his letters to the Arch-
bishop of yorke, and all the Bishoppes of England in
this ſorte.

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Cod. Vat. b 4. Ep. 2.

[In regarde wee are long since certifyed by the relation of many, that the Coronation and vnction of the kinges of England appartayneth to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as an ancient custome and dignity annexed vnto his Church, wee doe by these presentes & our Apostolicall authority streyghtly inioyne your brotherhood, that, if the renowned king of England will haue his sonne crowned and annoynted king, during the tyme our reuerent brother Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury remayneth in exile, none of yee attempt to impose handes on him, or presume any way to intermedle in the busines; which if any of yee shall bee soe bould as to doe, let him vndoubtedly knowe that it will highly redounde to the perill of his office and order; for heerin wee will cut of all remedy of Appeale, and exclude all occasion of malignity. Dated at Cisuinary 4. Kalend. Martii.] Hee wrote also seuerally to the same Bishoppes of England and likewise to saint Thomas, the priuiledges of whose Church should bee heerby infringed. Sainct Thomas moreouer wryting in the name of the high Bishop of Rome to the Archbishop of yorke and other Bishoppes of England in like manner forbad the same to bee donne. Vpon receipt of which letters the king of England and his followers were soe far inraged, as they caused them all to take an oath not any way to obey the constitutions of the Pope and Archbishop forbidding this same, which soe heynous offence saint Thomas presently reproued by these his letters written to them into England.

Ibid epist 44 ibid. epist. 3. ibidem epist. 2. & 46.

Ibid Ep. 47.

[Knowe yee (my deerest) that wee haue wrytten in great tribulation and anxiety of harte, not any way to heape sorrowes vpon yee, but that yee may vnderstand what manner of charity wee beare abuntantly vnto yee; for God is our witnes how wee couet yee in

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the very bowells of Christ Iesus; wherupon seeing the dangers that neerely touch the body and soule, yee to their iniury, and, which beeing neuer heard of in these our dayes, are yet now beefallen, wee are not a litle greiued and confounded in regarde of your selues. For it is apparant by the publicke reporte of all men, that yee haue abiured my Lord the Pope who representeth the person of Christ himselfe, and as also who (although vnworthy) are neuertheles appoynted the father and Bishop of your soules; yea this is it which aboue other thinges (that wee haue many yeeres according to the example of the iust iudgment of Allmighty God indured) increased exceedingly the abundance of our sufferinges: for that soe detestable, so wicked an oath how great a scandall doth it breede to the world? what offence to God? what a synne to your selfe? what affliction to vs? For why, to abiure them whom God hath ordayned ouer yee, is an iniury to him who hath ordayned them, and likewise to vs who are placed in authority by him, nay rather, the power of him who soe exalted vs is dishonored, the hand of his obedience broken: which vice vndoubtedly (with confidence I speake it, but for your sakes with teares) is like and equiualent to Idolatry, for (sayth the prophet) to resist is the synne of South-saying, and not to obey is the offence of Idolatry, wherupon such by the ordinance of the old lawe, as were Idolatrers, sustayned the sentence of corporall death: And seeme yee not to your selues to haue incurred a far greater cryme in that yee doe not only rebell, but alsoe bynde your selues with an oath heereafter to rebell: and that moreouer what a thing is it for sheepe to shake of their sheapheardes? Verily for such as forsake their shepheardes, the Wolfe hath allready inuaded them, and vnles the shepheard, whom

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they haue now abiured, defendeth them, hee will in the end deuoure them. Many testimonyes of Scriptures and examples of Saintes may bee produced for detestation of your offence, but that the excesse of such an enormity lyeth open to the eyes of the meanest vnderstanding.

Yet if yee were not voluntarily, but vnwillingly drawne hereunto, the sinne were excused in parte, but not in all: for better it is to suffer the body's destruction, then take an abhominable oath, whereby yee are become the children of death; becaause (as the prophet sayth of the people) yee are stroken with the stripe of the enemy, with a cruell chastisement. But to manifest the watchfull care wee haue before Almighty God for yee, wee haue endeauored to apply to soe greeuous a wound the salue which now only remayneth, and doe therfore by the power of saint Peter the Apostle, the authority of the Bishop of Rome and of vs, absolue from an oath soe vnlawefull, all such as are penitent, especially those who sweare, imparting to our reuerend brethren the Diocesan Bishoppes, and preistes of lesse quality in the vacancy of Bishoppricks our power for iniojning externall satisfaction to the afore sayd Penitents: Admonishing yee all, who are willing to vnderstand it, that yee are no way bound by such an oath nor obliged to obey it, least as Herod vnder pretence of piety, yee become impious, and excuse with an oath an offence exceeding the swearing, according to him who sayth: That oath is not to bee obserued, wherby a sin is vnaduisedly promised: And againe. In promises which are euill infringe your fayth, breake your vowe, change your decree; doe not performe what you haue vnaduisedly vowed. And many other sentences which I ouerpasse, are consonant heereunto.

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And now to conclude, I, who am bound in our Lord, doe heere beeseech yee, yea I beeseech yee as my children, whom I euer ought to embrace in Christ, that yee walke worthy of the vocation wherunto God hath called yee; that obseruing first of all the fayth of Christ, yee doe next obey his Prelates, submitting your selues vnto them, for they are the Parties who keepe watch ouer yee, as the persons who must yeeld an accompt for your soules: For (brethren) I would haue yee vnderstād, how as well these vnlawfull oathes, as also many other enormious crymes which through wicked sugestions are committed in our cause for the oppression of iustice and truth, truth so fauoring it selfe, will turne in the end to the benifitt thereof, fore truth may bee imprisonned or entralled, but can neuer bee vanquished, beecause shee is contented with the smale number of her follwers, and neuer caught with the multitude of men; and let the spirit of counsell and wisedom inspire yee all with that discretion one to an other, as being all of one mynde, yee may with one mouth honor the Pastors and Bishoppes of your soules, whom that great Pastor of flockes Iesus Christ hath ordayned in the blood of his eternall testament, and that by the Charity of the holy Ghost yee stretch out the handes of your prayers to helpe mee your father in this my extreme perill, wherby I may bee deliuered from those Infidells who forbid that in this my restraynte I should bee assisted with prayer, a suffrage commonly beestowed both on the faythfull and vnfaythfull. The grace of our Lord Iesus Christ bee with yee all who haue corrected your error concerning this wicked oath, and bin worthily and humbly contryte therfore; for the contrary syde, I beeseech God either instantly to conuerte them, or temporally to punish them vntill they amend, and doe condigne

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pennance for their offence.] Thus wrote saint Thomas vnto his. But it appeareth by the testimony of
Cod Vat. lib.3.Ep.18. Iohn of Silisbury, that all did not equally condescend to this oath, and that persecution was threatned from the higher powers against such as refused to sweare: For hee sayth: [It is a publicke reporte, that the aboue mentioned Archdeacon of Canterbury perswaded the king to passe ouer into England, and there to torture the Bishoppes with those of the Clergy, who would not sweare against my Lord the Pope and their mother Church of Canterbury; on euery syde is feare: perplexitys on euery syde &c.]

The king meane while did with all dilligence possible hasten to accomplish the Coronation at whitsuntyde, but concerning such thinges as foreranne the same, there is extant the relation of a faythfull freind who remayned with the king, and often certifyed saint Thomas by letters of these and other occurrents,
Ibid Ep.10, but now in this sorte: The king must bee needes at London on Sunday next, for hee hath then summoned thither out of all partes of the land the Archbishop of yorke together with all other Bishoppes and Barons; that day will yorke assuredly crowne the kinges sonne, his wife the king of Frances daughter being left at Cane, to the reproach and contempt of her father as one reiected: This childe whom wee haue named, will when wee haue named, bee vndoubtedly crowned, vnlesse our Lord stay his intended passage by sea, or restrayne the handes of yorke, or the king of France represse it with some manner of prohibition: For the sonne hasteneth to the sea and is expected by the father on the contrary shoare, and by the kinges commandement the Bishoppes of Bayon and Segien attend his childe. [And concerning the Popes letters forbidding this

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same, hee addeth thus. For my Lord the Popes letters forbidding this consecratiõ, it was long ere they passed the seas, then absolutely cast away to no purpose, and perishing in the handes of him to whom they were committed, they were shewed to none, much lesse diuulged to all, how therfore could they preuayle that were thus concealed? &c. But in regarde of some occasions arysing the new kinges coronation was deferred till saint Iohn Baptistes natiuity, whereof William, in Quadrilogus wryteth thus in the end of the second.

[The feaste of sainct Iohn Baptist beeing now at hand, the king vnder pretence of establishing his kingdome assembling together the nobility of his realme committed to his eldest sonne the raynes of his kingdome. And there wanted not some who aduised him to bee very carefull vpon what conditions hee thus admitted his heire and successor; others answering and affirming, all this was done in hatred of the Archbishop, and derogation of the Churches dignity. But the Archbishop of yorke impoſed handes on him in the Prouince of Canterbury, beeing in sainct Peeters Church at Westminster, contrary to the dignity and ancient custome of the Church of Canterbury, the Bishoppes of London, Salisbury, and Rochester as suffraganes assisting him, nor euer opening their lippes in protestation of the right of Canterbury, to whose dignity and prerogatiue the coronation of the kinges of England is of ancient tymes knowne to appertayne, In the celebration of the feast after the coronation the king vouchsafed to serue the king, the father the sonne, and protested that now hee ceased to bee a king. But according as God complayneth *They raigne and not by mee*, so how manifestly was it in the end declared that this yong king by this bastar-

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dly conſecration vnlawfully acted by an excommunicated and accurſed perſon, purchaſſed not a benediction. Wheruppon this Author addeth by and by afterwardes thus: But let vs a litle conſider how profane this vnction was, how odious, how offenſiue this conſecration (if it may bee termed rather a conſecration then an execration, beeing abſolutely deſtitute of any Apoſtolicall benediction, yea abſolutely done in transgreſſing againſt the Apoſtolicall man) which only proceeded out of meere hatred wrath and indignation deuyſed by a carnall father in deſpight of his ſpirituall father! All which is proued by the lamentable euentes, that beeing ſoe deteſtable to all enſuing ages, ſprung out of this conſecration, I meane the Suſpenſion and Excommunication of Preiſtes, the murdering of an Archbiſhoppe, the ſundry battayles between the father and ſonne, and laſtly the notorious, miſerable, and vntymely death of this yong Prince ſoe conſecrated, beeing cutt of in his prime, and left an example for all tymes to come. &c.]

This ſame freind of his ſent him alſoe the reporte of the Coronation in theſe wordes. [On Sunday laſt the king beeing at London endowed his ſonne with the girdle of knighthoode, and yorke inſtantly anoynted him king. There the king diſtributed his landes to his ſonnes, all men wondering what hereafter hee would doe. Hee cauſeth his iourney into Normandy to bee cõtinually talked of, to the end hee may bee the more dreaded, but hee will not goe vntill hee hath decently furniſhed the king of France his daughter (remayning now in the company of the Queene at Cane) with apparell, horſe, and family, conuenient to paſſe the ſeas at his appointment; and this of purpoſe that the king of France hearing hereof, may ſomewhat bee pacifyed

Cod. Vat. lib. 5. Ep. 2. 3.

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in regarde of the indignation conceaued for contempt of his daughter. &c.] This beeing done, saint Thomas hauing certayne intelligence of all matters which had passed in derogation of himselfe and his Church of Canterbury, wrote (as the same author reporteth) vnto Pope Alexander mournfull letters replenished with complayntes, intermingled also with other discontentes, which is to say, that the cheife Ringleader of all this Scysme, together with the Bishop of Salisbury not inferior to the former, beeing both excommunicated before by the Pope himselfe, were to the reproach of the whole Church loosed from the bands of excommunication by the Bishop of Senon Legate of the Apostolike Sea; Hereof saint Thomas especially complayned to Cardinall Albert beeginning thus in bitternes. [I would (my heeloued) your eares were open to the tongues of our complayntes, that they might then heare what is often sung in the publicke passages of Ascalon to the reproote of the Romane Church. Our last Messingers seemed to bring vs some comforte from the Sea Apostolike in my Lord the Popes letters, but their authority is made absolutely voyde by letters sent from the Legate a latere for abolishing Sathan to the Churches obloquy. There are now absolued by the Apostolicall Mandate the Bishoppes of London and Salisbury, of whom the first is knowe to bee from the very beeginning the firebrand of this Scysme and contryuer of all this malice, and to haue drawne as well Salisbury as all others whom hee could into the offence of disobedience. I knowe not in what sorte our Lordes cause is handled in the Courte that Barabbas escapeth free and Christ is crucifyed. Now for six whole yeeres hath our banishment and the Churches calamity bin prolonged by the Courtes authority &c.] But how iniustly all

Cod. Vat. lib. 5. Ep. 20.

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this was deliuered, allthough to the holy man, it ſeemed moſt certayne, the letters of Pope Alexander to the Bishop of Senon the Apoſtolicall Legate declare. But firſt let vs heere reporte what the Legate, ſetting downe the ſame, did wryte to that purpoſe vnto his Holines.

Ibid. Ep. 25. [Let your excellency (moſt holy father) heare with patience what wee ſay, beecauſe our ſoule dwelleth in bitternes, and as well your devoute ſonne the moſt Chriſtian king of France, as alſo the whole Church of France is troubled with the ſcandalls which in the days of your Apoſtolike authority flowe from the Apoſtolicall Sea: For why (as our country ſayth) Sathan is there ſet looſe to the whole Churches deſtruction, Chriſt is crucifyed againe, and the ſacrilegious wretch and murderer let goe: Wee haue laboured with your Holines on the behalfe of the Church of England, and ſuppoſed in our departure shee obtayned ſome reliefe; But when you cauſed the Bishop of London without our priuity to bee abſolued, the matter fell out cleane contrary; and hornes are giuen to the ſinner. For loe, that king (whom you haue ouer much fauored) hath cauſed his ſonne to bee conſecrated king, if it may bee termed a conſecration which is miniſtred by the Excommunicate, who are odious to the holy Ghoſt and enemyes to the Church, and this with the notorious iniury of the Church of Canterbury, and of my Lord the king of France, whoſe Daughter, that aduerſary of God and man would not admitt to bee partaker of this conſecration. This conſecration or rather execration was miniſtred by yorke, and (as they ſay) with your authority, where London & ſome others named Bishoppes, whoſe memoryes are buryed in malediction, aſſiſted him. Haue a care therfore (ô father) heereafter of this Church, which hath perished in

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your handes, leaſt the bloud thereof bee required of you, which wee thinke cannot bee otherwiſe done for the redemption of your ſame and ſoule, vnles with your Apoſtolicall power you confound the foreſayde Malefactors.] Thus wrote Senon to the Pope. There are letters yet to bee ſeene written in the Popes name to the Archbishop of Roane for abſoluing London on certaine conditions; and others likewiſe ſent by Roane to his holines, ſignifying how hee was abſolued on Eaſter day, but there is the letter of ſaint Thomas to Roane affirming the abſolution to bee voyd, becauſe the Popes conditions were neuer proformed. And moreouer beeſides all theſe an other letter of ſaint Thomas, wherin hee complayneth to the Pope concerning theſe abuſes. Yet bee aſſured all this was but a ſlaunderous reporte: And firſt, as it was falſe that the Archbishop of Yorke euer conſecrated the king by the Popes authority, as the letters before recyted written both by the Pope and alſo by a frind to ſaint Thomas apparantly declare; ſoe make no doubt it is as manifeſt a falshood that London and his Aſſociate were euer abſolued by the Popes Mandate; and therfore loe heere the Epiſtle of Apologie ſent by his Holines to the Bishop of Senon.

Cod Vat. l. 3. Epiſt. 16.

Ibid. Ep. 19.

Ibid. Ep. 24.

[Wee haue gratefully receaued, and with dilligente care and attention conſidered the letters which your deuotion ſent as concerning the buſines of our venerable brother the Archbishop of Canterbury; But in regard the Bishop of London is not yet come vnto vs, wee haue determined nothing in the cauſe: If hee had appeared before vs, wee would haue endeauored to preſerue the iuſt tytle of the Archbishoppe of Canterbury ſoe far forth as wee might haue done with the ſafety of our conſcience: But yet how far wee haue proceeded in that controuerſy, wee ſuppoſe wee haue

Ibid. Ep. 26.

The Pope purgeth him. ſelfe of a falſe imputation.

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made ſufficiently knowne to him in parte, and alſo to our moſt deere ſonne in Chriſt Lewes the famous king of France, in ſuch ſorte as wee enioyned you by word of mouth to deliuer, for wee haue therin altered nothinge ſince your departure, nor haue wee thought good to change any thing heereafter, allthough the foreſayd king of England did ſollicite vs moſt earneſtly by the Conſuls of Lumbardy being preſent before vs with his agents, as alſo by the Embaſſadors of our moſt deere ſonne in Chriſt Emmanuel the illuſtrous Emperour of Conſtantinople to graunt him a longer tyme of repite. And in regarde wee eſteeme the Archbishoppes cauſe as our owne and the Churches cauſe, wee command your brotherhood by theſe our Apoſtolicall letters that you admonish carefully, and inſtantly exhorte by worde of mouth, or otherwiſe by letters if they are not perſonally preſent, the Archbishop of Roane and Bishop of Niuers dilligently and ſpeedily to execute our commandement, and if as yet they haue no way proceeded in the buſines, omitt not in any caſe to reprehend them sharpely and ſeuerely reproue them. But if they haue allready pronounced according to our commandement the ſentence of interdiction vpon the ſayde kings lands, then doe you firmly and ſtreightly obſerue this ſentence, and cauſe (as far as it lyeth in your power) the ſame to bee obſerued without any partiality at all throughout the kinges landes which are knowne to ly in your Prouince, ſetting all excuſe and appeale aſyde.] Thus far Pope Alexander purged himſelfe to Senon, and allthough the Pope commanded excommunicated London to bee abſolued, to the end hee might bee an inſtrument of peace (as in an other place hee ſayth!) what offence was this? eſpecially conſidering hee commanded the ſame to bee done vpon certayne conditions.

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Nay did not saint Thomas himselfe, this very yeere at such time as the Pope commanded the excommunication to bee reiterated on London and Salisbury, beeseeche his Holines to forbeare the same for feare of disturbing the peace now vndertaken? So as it appeareth, not only Alexander, but also saint Thomas himselfe did vpon diuers occasions command and perswade the Excommunicated to bee bound and looſed, for theſe are his owne wordes: [Allthough the Bishop of London hath bin the cheife Leader of this sedition (that wee may forbeare to call it Scysme) wee neuertheleſſe beeseech it may bee lawfull for vs to haue cõpassion on him and Salisbury, if they cannot bee punished according to your commandement without renewing of Sciſme.]

But the modeſty of Pope Alexander was vndoubtedly admirable, who although hee felt himſelfe ouerladen with soe huge a burden of wrongfull accuſations, yea and was moſt vniuſtly afflicted with the cõplayntes of this soe Saintly a man ſignifyed by the Apoſtolicall Legate, as also thoſe of the king, people and Clergy of France, allmoſt wholy with clamors inueyghing againſt him, beeing made neuertheleſſe as a man not hearing, nor hauing any refutations in his mouth, hee handled his cauſe with that vnſpeakeable myldnes, as hee abſtayned abſolutely from retorting reproofes or any other spytefull replication, allbeeit hee was gauled with the ſpurres of moſt sharpe letters, ſoe as it may without all controuerſy bee affirmed of him which was once ſayde of Moyſes, that hee was of all men the meekeſt. But whence (will you ſay) aroſe then this reporte ſo bruted in the mouthes of all, that the Bishoppe of London was abſolued by the Pope? It is layde open in the Epiſtle of Iohn of Salisbury Secretary to ſaint Thomas, wrytten to the Archdeacon of Exceſter and

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dated this yeere, where among other occurrents of this tyme hee inſerteth this of this ſame: [It was commonly giuen out that the kinges Agents had then obtayned abſolution for the Bishoppe of London and all others, and how the Archbishoppes authority for proceeding againſt the kingdome with the perſons of his realme, was withdrawne; But they were preſently refuted as manifeſt vntruthes by letters ſent from his Holines, yea before ſuch tyme as the Bishoppe of London vndertooke his iourney to the Courte, who doubtles would haue ſpared that labor and coſt, if (as ſome fayned) hee might haue bin abſolued without ſoe greate difficulty.] Thus ſayth Salisbury for clearing Alexander from the iniurious ſlanders rayſed of him by the king of Englands Agents. Whereunto may bee added the teſtimony of ſaint Thomas, expoſtulating with king Henry thus: [My Lord, if you haſten the planting of your ſonne in your place, with the accompliſhment of his conſecration, why are you not carefull to exclude from the ſolemnity of ſoe greate a Sacrament thoſe who are apparantly and namely excommunicated by the ſentence of my Lord the Pope and vs? Can a conſecration bee perfected without a participation?] But if London and Salisbury had bin abſolued, beeing excommunicated beefore, as well by the Pope as ſaint Thomas, theſe obiections could neuer haue bin made by ſaint Thomas himſelfe in that aſſembly where none ſtood excommunicate but only the ſayde Bishoppes.

Cod. Vat. lib. 5. Ep. 18.

For anſwer moreouer of the other flaunder concerning the Popes conſent to the conſecration of the king of England by the Archbishop of Yorke, reade heere the Popes letters wrytten to ſaint Thomas in theſe wordes.

[Conſidering

[Considering deeply the constancy of your vertue and fayth, with the resolution of mynde which you haue apparantly shewed for defence of your Churches liberty; wee doe willingly giue you as our deerest brother the best counsell and assistance wee can for obtayning those thinges which wee knowe conuenient for the conseruation and augmētation of the same Church, and will with diligent endeauor affoarde the defence of the Apostolicall power against all such as contend to diminish and disturbe the rightes and dignityes herof. Wee heare of certaynty how the Archbishop of Yorke contrary to our prohibition and interdiction, hath crowned in your Prouince Henry sonne to the famous king of England; wherfore, in regarde you affirme the same to bee an exceeding great derogation to the right and dignity of your Church, beeing desyrous on this beehalfe to succour both your selfe and Church, wee ordayne by our Apostolicall authority, that the sayde Archbishoppes acte shall no way hereafter by any meanes preiudice you for diminishing your right in the Coronation and vnction of the kinges of England, but that you may haue it in as ample manner as your Predecessors and Church haue bin knowne to haue enioyed the same forty yeeres now past.] Thus far in refutation of the scandall concerning the Archbishoppe of Yorke, and heereto is agreable an other Epistle wrytten to the Bishoppes who were present at the Coronotion, and that letter especially which the Pope sent to the same Roger Archbishop of Yorke and Hugh Bishoppe of Duresme indighted thus. *Ibid. Ep. 34.*

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Alexander Biſhoppe, ſeruant of the ſeruantes of God, to his reuerent brethren Roger Archbiſhoppe of Yorke and Hugh Biſhoppe of Dureſme ſendeth greeting and Apoſtolicall benediction.

Allthough yee are many wayes commendable and gratefull to vs, and wee on the other ſyde embrace yee with the armes of vnfayned charity; neuertheles wee ought not therfore to ouerpaſſe, but call yee to accompt, and with the zeale of rightuouſnes to correct ſuch offences as beeing committed by yee, and left vnpunished, engender death. Our Lord ſpeaking by the Prophet thus: If I ſaying to the wicked, thou ſhalt dye the death, thou doſt not declare it vnto him, nor tell him thereof, hee ſhall dye in his ſinne, but I will require his blood at thy handes. *The oppreſſion truly of the Church of England with the diminishing of her liberty, which is knowne to bee cauſed by your king, bee it either of his owne motion, or elſe by the ſuggeſtion of others, hath now long ſince very much afflicted our mynde, and bred vs noe ſmall care and greife; for wheras it behoued him to deuyſe how to correcte theſe abuſes which were brought in wickedly by his Predeceſſors, hee rather heaping ſinnes vppon ſinnes conſtituted and eſtablished with the coullor of à royal tytle thoſe vnlawfull cuſtomes by which the Churches liberty periſhed, and the decrees of Apoſtolicke men (as far as hee could infringe them) were deprined of their power; neyther did hee thinke it enough if vnder his Dominion the Diuine lawes in his kingdome of England were put to ſilence and made voyd, vnles hee ſhould alſo caſt à deſcent of ſinne vpon his heires, and make his kingdome for long tyme ſit ſolitary without Ephod, without Superhumerale, without preiſtly dignity: Thence came it*

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to passe that hee procured those vsurpations to bee confirmed, without any exception, by the oathes of your selues, your brethren, and the Bishoppes your Associates, and condemned him to bee punished as a Traytor who woulde not yeelde consent to these wicked customes. This appeareth manifestly in the exile of our reuerent brother the Archbishoppe of Canterbury, this is openly declared in the miserable banishment of his Clearkes and kindred, and of those who sucking their mothers breasts cryed as yet in their cradles; yea the terror of death is threatened to all such as dare resist the same, and prefer the lawes of God beefore those synnefull Statutes. Wee our selues (by whose iudgment those offensiue lawes ought to bee corrected and amended) were vnder coullor of this vnquiett tyme most earnestly sollicited to confirme the same, and were not meanely labored and prouoked to strengthen with Apostolike power those vsurped customes, before wee were fully informed of them, and this in their very first beeginning; and in processe of tyme the sayde Archbishoppe remayning in exile for executing the office of his Pastorall function, and very often requiring from our authority the wonted assistance of the Romane Church, wee sent to the same king the cheifest and worthyest of our brethren, wee sent also other Ecclesiasticall persons, supposing the hardnes of his harte would bee softened with our humility and meekenes: and that (as Salomon sayth) The Prince will bee mollifyd with patience, and a gentle tongue will asswage anger. But hee deluding our sufferance with the seuerall deuises of sundry Embassadors, seemeth soe far to obdurate his mynde against our admonitions as neither hee relenteth any whitt in his wrath against the forenamed Archbishop, nor yet endureth that any one of his pernerse lawes should bee diminished, yea damnifyeth the Church of Canterbury it selfe very much in her possessions, and spoyleth her of her an-

Prouerb. 25. *Ibid. 15.*

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cient dignity in her Eccleſiaſticall adminiſtration; for when hee was diſpoſed of late to haue his ſonne crowned, contemning the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whoſe office the ſame in tymes forepaſt is ſayd of right to beelong, hee cauſed him to bee inueſted with the Crowne by you (brother Archbishop) and that in this Prouince, noe whit appartayning to your iuriſdiction. Moreouer in his Coronation there was not according to the ancient cuſtome any condition made or (as they ſay) requyred of him for the preſeruation of the Churches liberty, but (as the reporte goeth) hee was rather bound by oath to obſerue during his raigne inuiolably the royall cuſtomes (as they call the) of his anceſtors, wherby the Churches dignity is endangered: Wherin allthough the ſayde kinges violence doth greatly trouble vs, wee may neuertheles bee much more incenſed with the imbecility of yee and your Aſſociates the Bishoppes, who (not without greife wee ſpeake it) are made like Rammes without hornes, and flye away without ſtrength before the face of the Purſuer. For allthough (brother Archbishop) you might lawfully perhappes haue done this in your owne prouince, yet how you could with any face attempt the ſame in a ſtrange Prouince, eſpecially beelonging to him who was himſelfe allmoſt alone content to ſuffer banishment for iuſtice, and giue Allmighty God his glory, wee can neither by reaſon nor yet by the Decrees of the holy fathers ſatisfy our ſelues.

Thren Ie-rem. 1.

But if any obiecteth for excuſe of ſoe foule an offence, that in other kingdomes alſo many greiuous ſinnes haue bin committed; wee may in truth anſwer, wee haue not hetherto ſeene any kingdome runne ſoe headlong into ſoe great a contempt of the diuine lawe, as to enforce ſuch manifeſt enormityes to bee eſtabliſhed by the hand-writings and oathes of Bishoppes, vnles any man will impudently alleage that which the Sciſmatickes, beeing

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afwardes cutt of from the communion of the faythfull, haue practised with such damnable pryde as was neuer beefore heard of. In regarde whereof, becausse according to the Prophet's saying: Peruerse iudgment hath issued out from yee, and peruersity is acted among yee. Why doe not yee who haue exceeded all other Prouinces in their vsurpations, and strengthened such vnlawfull customes with an oath, resume now to your selues the sheylde of fayth to defend the house of our Lord in the day of battell, but rather prostrate your bodyes on the ground, to make a way for passengers ouer yee? And leaste beeing any longer silent the sentence of damnation should bee pronounced in the day of iudgment as well against vs, as yee; heere by the authority of the sacred Roman Churche (where by our Lordes appointment wee serue) wee suspend yee from all manner of office belonging to Episcopall dignity, hoping at the leaste that now beeing reformed by discipline and this fatherly correction, yee will at the laste returne to your selues, and endeauor to defend the Churches liberty: But if with all this yee will not recall your selues to that zeale which beecommeth the place of Bishoppes, wee will by the grace of God heereafter doe that which as yet with terror threateneth yee. Looke to your selues, leaste that bee sayde to yee which was spoaken to one by the Prophett thus: Beecause thou haste repulsed knowledge, I will repell thee that thou shalte not exercise the office of Preisthoode vnder mee. And for vs in regarde (God at his pleasure soe disposing) wee are heere apparantly placed in his seate who neither by blowes nor bandes could euer bee constrayned to surcease from preaching the word of God, wee ought not vnder a doubtfull expectatiō of peace to lay vp in a handkercheise the money of the diuine worde committed to our charge, and keepe it tyed vp soe long, vntill the hower of encrease by little and little slydeth away, and the Creditor comming calleth vs

Habacuc. 1.

Osee 4.

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to render a ſeuere accompt. Thus far Alexander, wherby is refelled that manifeſt vntruth, which not a little darkeneth the fame of this Pope.

And as then alſo did Peeter of Bloys to the ſame effect wryte to Iohn of Salisbury, and hauing himſelfe likewiſe a burning zeale for the liberty of goddes Church, which ſaint Thomas defended, to ſtrengthen him the more, leaſt otherwiſe hee ſhould faynte in theſe ſeas of tribulations, hee admonished Iohn in a large Epiſtle to comforte the Saint, beeing lynes doubtles worthy of this Author, and indighthed.

Tho his moſt deere freind Maſter Iohn of Salisbury, Peeter of Bloys Archdeacon of Bathe wiſteth health in the Author of all health,

Peeter of Bloys Ep. 22.

As often as I ſeriously conſider with my ſelfe the ordinary oppreſſions of the English Church, and the banished of your Lord Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, it doth very much comforte mee that hee hath erected himſelfe as a bullwarke for defence of Gods iuſtice and the Churches liberty, and therby will deſerue a glorious concluſion of this his perſecution. For I ſee yee are now ſett beetwene the hammer and the Anuyle, and ſinners dayly buyld vpon your backes; neuertheles if yee fight in Chriſt, and for Chriſt, hee will neuer ſuffer yee to bee tempted aboue your power, but will make yee profite by your temptation, and our Lord will take away the rodd of ſinners from the portion of the iuſt, that the iuſt may not ſtretch out their handes to iniquity. If truth miſſe-telleth vs not, the *Math. 5.* *end of your perſecution will bee eternall bleſſednes: Bleſſed are they (ſayth hee) who endure perſecution for iuſtice:* *1. Pet. 4.* *Peeter the Apoſtle ſayth: Let none of yee ſuffer as a murderer, or theife, or ſlaunderer, or a deſirer of other mens*

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goodes. For not the paine but the cause maketh the Martyrdome: But as the Apostle speaketh: If yee suffer any thing for iustice, yee are blessed. For it is the guifte of God to beelieue in him, but it is the highest guifte to endure reproches for Christ. To yee (quoth the Apostle) it is granted for Christ, that yee not only beeleiue in him, but suffer also for him. *I doe therfore congratulate yee in regard yee haue conuerted iustice into iudgment, beecause yee represse the rebellion and disobedience of some with the castisement of suspension, if soe yee doe the same vpon the motion of reason and iustice, and not with a thirst of reuenge, or an appetyte of iniuring. Doe nothing (I beeseech yee) for malice or hatred, but let your actions bee managed with charity; nor yet shall yee reape out of this your punishing, the haruest of saluation, vnles your whole intention proceedeth out of the bowells of charity. For wheras by the fornace in the holy Scripture wrath or punishment is signifyed, wee are taught in Leuiticus to sprinckle with the oyle of charity the sacrifice which is to bee baked in the fornace, least otherwise it should bee burned: for the mynde of him who prepareth himselfe to encounter with persecution, is first to bee sweetned with the oyle of charity, that neither in aduersity hee fayleth of charity, neither yet bee enflamed against his brother with the fire of reuenge and hatred: It is therfore your merits, and before God and mans commendation, if by the way of iustice yee appease the disobedience of your subiects. For blessed are they who conserue iudgment, and execute iustice continually.* Ibidem 3. Philipp. 1. Leuit. 2. Psalm. 105.

In the execution of iustice there ought not to bee any exception or respect of persons, bee hee brother or childe, Prince or subiecte; let euer the fruite of iustice bee sought, and let them euer iudge righteously who iudge the whole world: for when the Leuites killing their brethren and children reuenged the sinne of Idolatry, Moyses sayde to

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them: Yee haue consecrated your handes this day euery one of yee in his sonne or in his brother, that a benediction may bee giuen yee. Salomon *sayth also*: Who reproue shall bee praysed, and a blessing will come vpon them. *Your Lord is highly to bee renowned, that only hee ascendeth on the contrary parte, that hee opposeth himselfe as a Bullwarke for the house of Israel, that hee argueth for the meeke of the earth? wee haue him as now the only and eminent man amonge the children of the patient in tribulation. In place of our fathers wee haue a sonne borne unto vs, who according to the example of the Apostles doth as now put in execution reuenge among nations, reproofes among people; and as those Princes of the people who beeing now gathered together with the God of Abraham for the iustice of Christ, are as strong goddes of the earth mightely aduanced, so shall likewise the honor of this man, if hee persewereth on in administration of iustice, bee highly exalted. For wheras hee liueth now exiled, wheras many thinges are attempted to his reproache, all this by the benefit of patience will bee turned to his glory.* This of our tribulation, *which is light and momentary (sayth the Apostle) worketh in vs a marualous weyght of glory. Shewe therfore your selues as the seruantes of God in singular patience. For widdowelike doth vertue stand, when patience sheildeth not her hand. And who from the first infancy of the Church hath euer tryumphed without patience? Truly although your Lord hath abundance of the spiritt of fortitude, yet neuertheles it is reported, that in regarde the new king of England was crowned by Yorke, and for some priuiledges obtayned by stealth to his derogation, hee is soe molested, as by the pusillanimity of spiritt and that tempest, his feete are allmost moued, his steppes well nigh discomforted: But you who are the handes and eyes of the Archbishop see that with your holy exhortations you comforte his dis-*

Exod. 32.

2. Cor. 4.

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solued handes, you strengthen his weakened knees. It is no marmaile if hee bee shaken with tribulation and oppressions; but if hee relyeth wholly and cleaueth to him who deepely rootethin his electe, hee will rest secure in all stormes of temptation and boysterous disturbance.

The ancient fathers vndoubtedly beeing sometimes in the pressure of tribulation, were often wearyed with tediousnes, whereupon they seemed for a tyme to waxe fainte and feeble from that resolute enduring of passions which they had with singular feruency in our lorde, vntill beeing inspired with vertue from aboue they returned againe to themselues in the spirit of fortitude. Elias flying away from the face of Isabell, and beeing wearyed of his life, cast himselfe downe vnder a Iuniper bush, and desired his soule might bee seuered by death. It sufficeth mee (quoth hee) take away my life. The Apostle alsoe pyning away with the like tediousnes, complaining saith. Wee are laden with greife aboue measure, in soe much as wee are weary of our life. *The Prophet hauing often experience of this tediousnes, speaketh thus:* I haue fainted by the strength of thy hand, and thou haste made my soule pine away as a spider. *But the spirit of Charity reuyued in them out of these ashes of tediousnes, and fortitude sprung from our infirmity: A thing perhaps incredible to some, had not the Apostle, whoe read it often in the booke of experience, giuen testimony therof saying:* For when I am weaker then growe I stronger: *And to him it is also tould:* Thy vertue is perfected in infirmity. *If therfore in regarde of the swelling seas of mishappes, which my Lord endureth, bee it either for the desolation of his frindes, or the long continuance of his exile, you see any sluggish dullnes by stealth to surprise his mynde, steppe in presently to comforte him, least hee despaire or bee any whitt wauering: For the tyme of his visitation is at hand. And if the mounting surges of the seas*

3. Reg. 29.

1. Cor. 1.

Psalm. 38.

2. Cor. 12.

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are maruailous, God is alſo maruailous in the deepe, who
Pſalm. 92. *conuerteth ſtormes into calmes, and the kinges indignation into fauor.*

I vnderſtood by the Legates of the Apoſtolike Sea with whom I trauailed from the courte of Rome to Bononi, that your Lord ſhall bee very ſhortly reconcyled vnto the intire fauour of the king of England, or elſe translated and made a more eminent Patriarch: but howſoeuer hee ſhall bee diſpoſed of by our Lord, if hee perſeuereth as hitherto hee hath donne, let him expect with ſecurity the end of his combate: let him not therfore liſten to the wordes of flatterers, but followe the ſpiritt of God, which dwelleth in him, and whether-ſomeuer hee goeth the ſpirites and
Ezech. 10. *wheeles of Ezechiel will alſo accompany him: I knowe the end of his agony will bee glorious if hee continue in the ſame courſe of fortitude and conſtancy which hee hath allready vndertaken; for who ſo fighteth lawfully ſhall bee crowned. And whereas all other vertues runne towardes the goale, yet only perſeuerance is crowned. Wherfore I entreate you as my Lord and Maſter that you will let mee often vnderſtand of your eſtate, and alſoe of his, for ſince I canne affourde yee nothing elſe, I doe not ceaſe daily to pray for yee, that by Gods aſſiſting grace, yee may obtayne the king of Englands fauar, and the free diſpoſing of your owne eſtates. I haue peruſed your booke of* The trifles of the Courte, *which delighted mee exceedingly, for it contayneth an excellent forme of learning, and for the artificiall varyety of ſentences, it is a matter of ineſtimable delight. God ſpeede yee well.* Hetherto Peeter: And for the tyme wherin hee wrote, it appeareth by this, that hee departed from the Citty towardes the king of England, after the coronation of his ſonne was finiſhed by the Archbiſhop of Yorke.

The king of Englād terryfyed bythe Pope. Meane while the king of England receaued from his Holines sharper letters, commanding him perempto-

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rily to grant saint Thomas his peace within the prescribed tyme, or if hee contemned to obey, then to expect the same sentence which hee had pronounced on Fredericke the Emperor: where with the king of England beeing terrifyed, wryting from England to the Apostolicall Legates, hee beegan to moue them importunately to peace, beeing vrged therunto by Alexanders comminatory letters: which letters thoughthey are lost, are often mentioned in other Epistles of S. Thomas. The king therfore thus stroken with feare, and dealing carefully for obtayning peace, wrote these few lynes for that purpose to the Archbishop of Roane one of the Legates.

[By the aduice of your selfe and other my faythfull Barons, I haue signified as well by messingers as letters vnto my Lord the Pope, a forme conceaued for reformation of peace beetweene mee and the Archbishoppe of Canterbury. The Pope, as hee certifyed mee by his letters, receaued withall thankfullnes the same, in such sorte as it was deuised by your counsell, and made knowne to him on your beehalfe, openly commanding admonishing entreating, and attentiuely perswading that I should performe the same with the consent of your selfe and the Bishop of Nyuers. And therfore I will fully and freely accomplish the same according as yee two shall arbitrate, not violating in any thing the order which shall bee proposed by your discussion. Wittnes Richard de Lucy at Westminster.] Thus wrote the king. In the meane tyme saint Thomas sent his letters of Interdiction (which are yet extant) into England vnto the Bishoppes to bee published within xv. days, vnles peace ensued. But the king preuenting the tyme, promised the Legates to confirme the peace, referring the articles therof to bee composed by their discretion. Wherupon the Aposto-

Cod. Vat. lib. 5. Epist. 14.

Cod. Vat. lib. 5. Epist. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39.

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licall Legates offered Thomas Archbishoppe of Canterbury hymſelfe to deuiſe the Articles of his owne peace, which hee did, collecting them out of the former conferences had with the king, and alſo out of ſuch conditions as the Apoſtolicall letters appoynted the king to performe: There is yet to bee ſeene an Epiſtle of ſaint Thomas written to the Bishoppe of Niuers ād the Legate his Aſſociate concerning the whole buſines, wherin hee firſt admoniſheth them in what ſorte they ought to proceede with the king, whoſe manners hee doth exactly deſcribe, wryting thus.

Ibidem. Ep. 12. S. Thomas admoniſheth the Legates how to proceede with the king in the treaty of peace.

[Allmighty God direct your ſteppes, that in the cauſe of his Church, the managing wherof is now in parte committed to your charge, yee neither ſtray on the right or the left hande, but paſſe on the high way, ſo as neither by faire promiſes, nor yet by threates, nor by any exquiſite deceyptes, hee (whoſe ſnares no man with whom hee hath had intercourſe could euer yet auoyde) may as now preuayle againſt your wiſedome and ſincerity: and vnles I am deceaued yee are expoſed vnto the fight of beaſtes, ſince hee will bring forth Bishoppes, Abbottes, and diſcreete men, that by them hee may conquer your conſtancy, if hee perceaueth hee cannot ſurpriſe yee with proffers and faire wordes. Beecauſe therfore yee cannot eaſily diſcouer theſe manifould and prodigious deceiptes, whatſomeuer hee ſayth, whatſomeuer forme hee vndertaketh, yet bee yee euer ſuſpicious of all his showes, and let all bee imagined full of guylded falshoodes, thoſe only excepted whoſe truth is approued by the touchſtone of their workes; for if hee perceaueth hee cannot corrupt yee with large offers, or terrify yee with threates, or wreſt any thing from yee againſt your wills and againſt the iuſtice of the cauſe, your authority will preſently vanish as blowne vp in his concept, and your ſelues held

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in contempt, scorne and derision by him and his. And if hee seeth hee cannot bend yee from your setled course, hee will seeme to grow furious against yee, for first hee did sweare ād deepely protest, thē turne as proteus to sundry shapes, and after all at the last come home to himselfe againe; and then, vnles the fault bee yours, you shall euer bee the God of Pharao.] These and the like did saint Thomas insinuate to them, teaching the Legates how to ouercome the king, beeing a necessary lesson for such as shall hereafter bee appointed Legates to treate with Princes. Afterwardes hee addeth the articles (as hee calleth them) for establishing the peace with the king.

But what was the cōclusion? The Legates thus instructed with the admonitions of saint Thomas, beeing now to conferre with the king, brought saint Thomas also along with them, his Maiestie expecting them in a place of exceeding pleasure, named by the inhabitantes (as it is written in Quadrilogus in the history of saint Thomas) Traytor's meadowe, that the name it selfe might soe bee answerable to the effecte, the blood of the iust beeing there beetrayde. Where after many contentions and debates it was brought aboute, that the king with a pleasant countenance (in outward showe) freely graunted saint Thomas his peace. But how the busines was handled is set downe playnly in a discourse concerning the same written by saint Thomas vnto Pope Alexander, which beeing tedious, wee will heere only declare such thinges as are necessary and worthie of knowledge. The Epistle beeginneth thus. [God with his eye of mercy hath beeheld our Church.] And after [For loe vpon receypte of your last letters, wherby you let him vnderstand that you would noe longer forbeare him more then you spared Fredericke called Emperor, perceauing his lande *Cod Vat. lib. 5. Ep 45.*

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should bee subiected to interdiction without any remedy whatsomeuer, and the Bishoppes (if any of them perchance disobeyed) suspended and excommunicated, hee concluded instantly with vs a peace to the honor of God, and (as wee hope) the Churches greatest vtility. For concerning the customes, hee was wont soe willfully to maintayne, hee durst not speake now one worde, hee exacted not an oathe of vs or any of ours, hee graunted vs the possessions (which by reason of this dissention hee had taken away from our Churches) in such sorte as wee expressed them in a certayne wryting, hee promised all ours peace and security, with the kisse also if wee would vrge him soe farre, so as hee seemed in all his actions not only absolutely ouercome, but that hee was also taxed as periurd by those who heard him the same day sweare, hee would not receaue vs with the kisse.

For wee by the aduice of many discreete persons, and especially of my Lord of Senon, who furthered our peace more carefully and effectually then the rest, came together with him to the conference had with the kinge. Whom by the goodnes of God (who remoued all those that were accustomed with sundry deceptes to intrappe your Holines) wee found soe much changed, as his mynde (to the greate admiration of all the beehoulders) appeared willingly to embrace all counsells of peace. For as soone as hee sawe vs approaching a farre of breakeing out from the company hee mett vs speedely, and vnkeevering his heade, as wee hastened to salute him, hee saluted vs first, and after a fewe wordes had with my Lord of Senon and vs, Senon withdrawing himselfe a syde, to the maruaille of all hee tooke vs apparte and discourssed with vs a long while soe familiarly, as it seemed not there had euer bin any discord beetwene vs. Wherupon well nigh all the

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company there presẽt euen astonished with a most ioyfull admiration, yea very many of their eyes flowing with teares, glorifyed God, and blessed saint Mary Magdalene, on whose feast the king was conuerted from his former wayes, soeas hee reduced a day of delight to his whole dominiõ, and restored to the Church her ancient peace againe.

Wee reproued him, but with such moderation as was necessary; wee lay de open to him the ways in which hee had erred with the dangers which on euery syde threatened; wee beesought and exhorted him to returne to himselfe, and doeing the fruites worthie of pennance with satisfying, by manifest restitution of her goodes, the Church, whom hee had not a little iniured, to cleere his conscience and repaire his reputation; for rather misseledde by wicked counsellors then of his owne inclination hee had greatly wronged both; and when hee had heard all this not only patiently, but also fauorably, with promise of reformation, wee added moreouer, it was likewise necessary for his owne saluation, with the good of his children and for the establishment and prosperitie of the authority graunted him from Allmighty God, to recompense the holy Church of Canterbury for that most greeuous wrong wherewith hee had lately damnifyed her, for hee caused his sonne to bee without all order crowned contrary to the most ancient custome and priuiledge of our Church &c.] Hee setteth downe in like sorte a matter of long debate beetweene the king and himselfe concerning this, whom in the end hee perswaded soe farre, as hee promised to make voyde and frustrate the Coronation, which was solemnized by the Pope, and especially executed by the Archbishoppe of Yorke, and to cause againe a Canonicall consecration to bee celebrated, wherin the Archbishoppe of Canterbury

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ſhould crowne the kinges ſonne together with his Queene and wife. But of this heereafter. Hee dilated alſo of other particulars which happened in that in meeting to bee donne by the king, as where hee ſpeaketh thus: [When I therefore alighting from my horſe did humble my ſelfe at his feete, hee catching my ſtirrop inforced mee to get vp againe; and ſeeming to ſhedde tearres, ſayde what needeth any more (my Lord Archbishoppe) let vs renewe our old mutuall freindshippe, and doe all the good wee can one to an other, forgetting cleane this forepaſſed diſcorde; but this let mee entreate you, to doe mee honor beefore the company who beehould vs a farre of. Beeing Saules wordes to Samuel when hee ſayde. Honor mee bee-
1. Reg. 15. fore the people.] Hee proceedeth.

And in regarde wee ſawe ſome there preſent (whoſe name this bearer will deliuer you) that had bin louers of debate and ſowers of diſcorde, paſſing to them hee ſayde: If I ſeeing the Archbishoppe ready to right mee euery way ſhould not on the other ſyde bee likewiſe good to him, I may truly bee eſteemed worſer then others, and ſhall verify the ill reportes which are rayſed of mee; neither can I conceaue any counſell to bee more honeſt and profitable then to endeauor to ſurpaſſe him in curteſy and exceede him in Charity and benefittes. Which wordes of the king were receaued by allmoſt all there preſent with very greate congratulation; whereupon hee ſent this Bishoppes to aduiſe vs to make our petition in that publicke aſſembly, and if wee woulde haue followed the Counſell of ſome of them, wee ſhould haue referred to his owne arbitrement our ſelues abſolutely and the whole cauſe of the Church: For from the beeginning to this very day iniquity hath iſſued from his Scrybes and Phariſes, and gathered ſtrength from the authority of Seniors who ought

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ought to gouerne the people: but blessed bee God who hath not suffered our soule to passe thorough their counsell, nor permitted vs to expose the Churches liberty and Gods iustice to any creatures will. Dismissing them, and aduising our selues with my Lord of Senon and the poore of Christe the Associates of our peregrination, wee resolutely determined not any way to submitt to his will the coutrouersy of the customes; or the dammages which hee had donne to our Church; or the iniury offered vs by the vsurped consecration, or the losse of the Ecclesiasticall liberty with the eclipse of our honor.

Concerning restitution of possessiõs to the Church of Canterbury.

And soe comming to the king and his Lordes, wee did with all humility beeseech him by the mouth of my Lord of Senon (who was our speaker) that hee would vouch-safe to restore vs his fauor with peace and security to vs and ours, together with the Church of Canterbury and her possessions (which beeing set downe by vs in wryting, his Maiestie had read) and that hee would mercifully reforme what was presumtiously downe against vs and our Church in the consecration of his sonne, promising him all loue and honor with whatsomeuer seruice may bee performed in our Lord by an Archbishoppe to his king and Prince. The king accepting all in good parte yeelded vs our requeste, receauing vs with all ours there present into his fauor, and in regarde your Holines commanded vs not that hee should restore what was wrongfully taken from vs and ours, wee would not require it; neither on the other syde (by Gods grace) could wee bee content to remitt it: Soe according to your Mandate those thinges were for the tyme put of, but not put away; for had you absolutely written as in your last letters you signifyed, that they should bee restored, (without doubt satisfactiõ had bin also made, with an exãple for all ages

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heereafter very profitable to the whole Catholike Church, and eſpecially to the Apoſtolike Sea. The king therfore hauing had much and long conference with vs, after wee two had continewed in talke alone according to our ancient accuſtomed familiarity vntill allmoſt the Euening, wee agreed in one, that hee beeing departed, wee ſhould returne to rẽder due thankes vnto the moſt Chriſtian king and others our benefactors, and vpon the ſetling of our buſines to come backe to his Maieſtie and remayne awhile with him, before wee paſſed into England, to the end the world might take notice into how great and intire fauor hee had receaued vs. Wee intend to expecte in France the returne of our Meſſingers whom wee haue ſent to receaue our poſſeſſions, for wee are determined not to repaire to our king, ſo long as hee detayneth one foote of Eccleſiaſticall landes; for by the reſtitution of our landes wee ſhall eaſily perceaue how ſincerely hee meaneth to deale with vs.]

And thus farre concerning their meeting wherin a peace was concluded. There is alſo in the ſame booke of Epiſtles an other reporte of this meetinge, which beeing only gathered from the beare ſayings of others, and not teſtifyed by an eye wittnes, ſeemeth to bee of leſſe credit then the former.

Cod Vat lib. 3. Epiſt. 46.

And what king Henry promiſed ſaint Thomas in wordes, the ſame did hee alſo performe in wryting, by ſendinge theſe letters vnto the king his ſonne.

Ibid Ep 43 The king writheth to his ſonne about the peace cõcluded betwene him and S. Thomas.

[Knowe yee that Thomas Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury hath ratifyed his peace with mee according to myne owne deſire; wherfore I command that hee and all his inioy this peace, and that you cauſe the Archbiſhop and all thoſe who departed the land with him, to haue reſtitution of all their eſtates, as fully, quietly

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and honorably, as they possessed the same three monethes beefore the bishop departed out of England. And that you call beefore you some of the most ancient and sufficient knightes of Lyore and Saltskind, and make them vpon their corporall oathes to certify what is there heald in Fee of the Archbishoppe of Canterbury, and what shall bee founde to bee of his fee you cause to bee rendred to the same Archbishoppe agayne.] Thus wrote the king to his sonne. And with these letters did saint Thomas send his Agents into England, but how many aduersaryes they found there, they signifyed by their letters backe againe to saint Thomas beeginning thus. [Wee haue accomplished as farre as wee could your command, &c.] And vpon this conclusion of matters saint Thomas wrotte these letters to Pope Alexander. *Ibid. Ep. 53.*

Ibid. Ep. 52.

S. Thomas writeth again to the Pope.

[After the trompet of your Apostolicall Cominatory (holy father) had throughly founded in the king of Englands eare, and that the seuerity of the Church threatened as well himselfe as his dominion, hee concluded his peace with vs, assuredly promising, hee would not omitt one iott or title of the whole contents of your commandement, but absolutely fullfill the vttermost: and hauing soe auoyded the blowe of this imminent sentence, in some articles hee flewe of from the agreement, withoulding from vs as yet certayne possessions of the Church which our Predecessor inioyde without controuersy all the days of his life, and wee also afterwardes vntill the violence of this tempest arose against the Church of England. [And somewhat after [wee truly will endeauor to winne the fauor of the man as far as wee can possibly with the preseruation of the liberty and reputation of the Church, together with the testimony of a good conscience, that wee may therby make tryall if all this can as yet recall him

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to a gentle temper. Your clemency vouchsafed to send vs letters for the correction and chastisement as well of the Archbishoppe of Yorke as other our associate Bishoppes, which lynes were vndoubtely inspired & conceaued by the holy Ghost, and are such as reproue the kinges enormityes with an authority beeseeming Peeters successor and Christes vicar]

Cod Vad li. 3. Epist. 60. These letters as yet remayne beeing registred in the proces of the worke, and are treated of in their place. To these letters S. Thomas likewise added the letters which hee receaued from his agents sent into England for recouering the Churches goodes, and are to bee seene in the same booke. And to that purpose may you *Ibid. Ep. 53.* there reade also the complaintes of S. Thomas made to the king, beeing seasoned with very greate modesty and sweetned with mildenes.

Ibid. Ep. 54. In the meane while before Pope Alexander receaued the letters of S. Thomas cõcerning the peace cõcluded with the king of England, the Pope departing from Beneuent towardes Rome, and comming to Verula a Citty of the Hernicians, hee directed his letters from thence to Thomas Archbishoppe of Canterbury beeginning thus: [Amonge the manifolde &c.] And excusing afterwardes himselfe in regarde hee did not, according to the desire of saint Thomas, seeme to proceede more speedily in this cause, hee addeth these wordes. [Whereupon (most deare brother) if wee haue in the eye of the world proceeded more remissely in the matter concerning your selfe and the Church of England, nor yet haue answered your petitions according to your owne will, the reason was not in regarde wee reputed not the cause of your selfe and the Church of England to bee our owne, and as neerely touching our selues as you, or that wee would any way bee wanting to you therin, but that wee thought conuenient to vse

The Popes returne to Rome and his letters written on the way Ibid Ep. 65

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all patiẽce, to the end wee might cõquer euill in doeing good. Wee feared also leaſt if there grewe any greater breach in the Church, it might bee imputed vnto our rough proceeding. But now in reſpect the diſturbers of the peace and the oppreſſors of the Churches liberty are not (as it ſeemeth) moued with any contrition at all to amend their fore paſſed abuſes, yea extending their ſinnes as a long rope, inſulte more and more as well to your vexation as the depreſſion of the Church of Canterbury, ſoe far forth as they appeare in your caſe to bee paſt well-nigh all hope of repentance, wee doe heere pronounce the Canonicall ſentence and ſuſpend from Apoſtolicall dignity your brother Roger Archbishop of Yorke with the other Bishoppes who haue bound themſelues by oath to obſerue the cuſtomes, and doe ſtill blowe the coales of ſo greate a miſcheife. And for the Bishoppes of Salisbury and London who ſeeme indebted in a greater band of gratuity, and yet neuertheles are reported to repay for thankfullnes nothing but ingratitude, if ſo they haue with their preſence and miniſtry furthered the coronation of the new king againſt the prerogatiue of the Church of Canterbuty, wee recall them into the ſentence of Excommunication from which they were abſolued.] And laſt hee thus mentioneth the tyme and place where the letter was dated: Datum Verulę 4. Id. Septemb.

what the Pope did Verule.

Departing from Verula hee came to Ferentine a Citty ſeauen myles diſtant from Verula towardes Rome, where the letters of Excommunication were dated vnto theſe English Bishoppes, beeing London, Salisbury, and the reſt there mentioned, with an other letter aparte to the Archbishoppe of Yorke concerning his ſuſpenſion, both beeing dated (as appeareth in their concluſion) at Ferentine 16. Kaled. Octob.

Cod. Vad 5. Ep. 66. 67.

what hee wrote a Ferentine. Ibid. Ep 5

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These are the letters which saint Thomas, in his to Pope Alexander concerning the same, commendeth as written with an Apostolicall zeale: But in the letter to the Archbishop of Yorke hee alleageth the cause of his suspension not to bee only the coronation of the the kinges sonne, but that also in the same coronation hee omitted the accustomed caution and condition for defending the Churches liberty, or at the least in place therof to make him take another oath vsuall then to bee sworne, and (which is worser) that an oath was there giuen for an exact conseruation of his ancestors customes directly opposite to the Church.

Going from Ferentine, his Holines with a shorte iourney of fiue myles lodged at Anagnia which is declared by diuers Epistles to the same purpose wrytten thence, as first for the recalling as well of Clearkes as lay-men into the excommunication from which they were absolued, if according to their promise they made not satisfaction in restoring possessions taken away from Churches, limitting a terme of xv. dayes for performing the same, Dated (as wee sayde) at Anagnia 8. Octobris, with other Bishoppes of England for continuing the interdiction vntill the Church were satisfyed. The morow following also were letters dated at the same place to the Bishoppes of Roane and Senon, where after some other matters were these wordes for obseruing such thinges as were promised by the king in his couenants of peace.

Cod Vat li. 5. Epist. 40.

[Wee will and command, and in the vertue of obedience by our Apostolicall letters inioyne your brotherhoode, that within twenty days after the receipte heereof, yee doe with all dilligence conferre with the king in our beehalfe, and carefully admonish and instantly exhorte him, sincerely to accomplish the peace

Ibid. ep. 31.

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which hee hath as yet in wordes only concluded with the Archbishoppe; and withall that yee incite him afterwardes to restore all thinges wrongfully taken away, rapaire the dammages donne by him, and absolutely abolish those wicked and destable customes. But if hee will not within thirty days after your commonition ratify the peace according to his appointment and promise, doe yee then forbid all diuine offices, beesides Baptisme of infantes and pennance at the point of death, to bee ministred in all his Dominions on this syde on the seas, and that without any obstacle of Appeale, and cause this sentence to bee most strictly obserued vntill hee shall giue condigne satisfaction. And if either of yee by reason of extreme necessity cannot bee present at the execution heereof, beeing a thing, if it should soe happen, much against our willes, let then the other neuertheles doe this our command. Dated at Anagnia 7. Id. Octobris. Moreouer there and then hee sent other letters to Roane and Nyuers against such as detayning possessions of the Church and would not restore them: whom hee commanded to bee excommunicated vnles they made within xv. days full satisfaction.

Ibidem 32.

The Pope remouing from Anagnia to Signia a citty seauen myles thence; where 3. Id. Octob. hee directed his letters to all the Prelates of the Prouinces beelonging to the king of England on this syde the seas, for putting the interdiction in execution, vnles the king made againe to saint Thomas, together with a perfect peace, restitution of his possessions; hee, the same day at the sayd place, wrote also a letter to saint Thomas, in these wordes.

[Wee are oppressed with greife and bitter sorrowe so often as wee recall to mynde and carrefully consider the troubles, burdens and afflictions which for the

Ibid. ep. 29

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zeale of iuſtice and maintenance of the Churches liberty you doe with patience and an vndaunted courage indure. But in regarde you haue atcheiued the perfection of vertue, you cannot bee ouercome with aduerſity, nor remoued from the reſolution of your conſtancy; wherin wee commend your admirable magnanimity, and congratulate with you in our Lord for this your ſinguler patience. And beecauſe wee haue long expected with patience and fauor our beeloued ſonne in Chriſt Henry the famous king of England, and haue often admonished him, ſeeking ſometimes by ſweete and pleaſing wordes, otherwhiles by rough and bitter threateninges to reclayme him; now if hee performeth not really, as well to you as yours, the peace concluded with you, nor yet reſtore you your Churches poſſeſſions together with your depriued honors, wee giue you heere ample authority to exerciſe your Eccleſiaſticall iuſtice beelonging to your office, notwithſtanding any obſtacle of Appeale, vpon the perſons and places ſubiect to your iuriſdiction, excepting only the king, the Queene, and their children, wiſhing you euer therin to vſe the wiſedome and conſideration beeſeeming all preiſtly modeſty. Dated at Signia 3, Id. Octob.

Alexander leauing Signia came to Tuſculan: where with longer ſtay hee remayned awhile, which is apparant by his letters Dated there 8. Kalend. Decemb. wherein hee cyteth the Bishoppes of London and Salisbury to Rome for making ſatisfaction, and this vnles the peace were abſolutely in all reſpects concluded. Hee wrote alſo thē by the ſame meſſinger (vnto whom hee deliuered his former letters) to the king of England in theſe words.

Ibid. ep 68.

Ibid. ep 55.

[Vnderſtanding by the letters of our reuerent brother Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, that laying

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aſyde all diſturbance and malice, you haue reſtored him to your grace and fauor, wee haue conceaued therin ſo much the more ioy and gladnes, by how much wee conſider the ſame to bee more gratefull and acceptable to God, honorable to your ſelfe, and profitable to your ſoule. For wee knowe the Archbishoppe ſoe farre to excell in Religion, wiſedome, honeſty, and the vertue of fayth, as wee doubte not but hee will bee faythfull and deuoted to you and your kingdome, able in power and ready in mynde for your honor and augmentation, and euer truly and carefully vigilant to encreaſe your glory and exalte your magnificence. Yet beecauſe the offence is not remitted vnles reſtitution bee made of thinges wrongfully taken away, allthough the Archbishop himſelfe in reſpect of his patience, and for the tender loue hee beareth you, forbeareth to require the ſame; wee neuertheleſſe, who couet eſpecially your ſaluation, ought not to bee ſilent therin, nor yet doth it beecome your Maieſtie (whom God hath made ſoe mighty and potēt) to withhould the rightes and goods beelonging to the Church of Canterbury: Wherfore with all intreaty wee admonish and earneſtly exhorte the clemency of your royall excellency, that following the example of Zacheus who ſayth in the Goſpell: *Beebould, Lord, halfe of my goodes I giue to the poore, and if I haue defrauded any one, I reſtore foure-foulde*, you would endeauor to render to the Archbishoppe and his Church what is wrongfully taken away, and ſpeedyly to recompenſe the dammages and detriments they ſuſtayned by your meanes, that you may ſoe appeaſe the wrath of Allmighty God wherin you haue offended him, and wee forgiue you abſolutely ſoe greate a ſinne, and the Archbishoppe bee for euer bound to reſt moſt ready at your ſeruice and deuotion, and encreaſe the renowne of you and your heires: Mo-

The Popes letters to the king of England.

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reouer that you fauorably listen to such as haue furthered and performed this peace betweene yee, nor heereafter harken to them whom you knowe to haue kindled the coales of this dissention; beesides that you warne and perswade your sonne to giue due satisfaction to the Archbishoppe and his Church concerning the article of his oathe omitted by him for conseruation of the priuiledge and liberty of the Church of Canterbury, in such sorte as kinges and Princes of England haue heertofore sworne, making him to performe what is hetherto let passe: and that as well your selfe as your sonne doe freely and quietly resigne the ordinations of Churches with other matters appertayning to Ecclesiasticall persons, vnto the same Archbishop, and other Ecclesiasticall men. That in soe doing you may offer to our Lord a worthie sacrifice of prayse, ād purchasse to your selfe an eternall kingdome.] Thus wrote Pope Alexander to the king, who added alsoe theerunto other letters to the Clergie and people of England, admonishing them all in any case not to disturb this setled peace.

Cod Vat. li. 5. ep. 56

The meeting of S Thomas with the king at Towers.

But how matters proceeded in the meane time betweene the king and saint Thomas, let vs heere declare out of Quadrilogus (the history of saint Thomas) wryting thus. [The king inclining to alteration, yea rather denying to make restitution of the possessions taken away from the Church of Canterbury, and this comming to the eare of saint Thomas by the relation of Iohn of Salisbury, whom together with Herbert hee sent to treate with the king. The Archbishop vnderstanding that a parlee was shortly to bee held betweene the king and a noble man called *Theobald Earle of Bloys*, the day beefore the conference went to the king at Towers: The king hearing before of the Archbishoppes comming, sent some of his Counte

Quadrilogus lib. 3. cap. 3.

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vnto him, passing alsoe himselfe out of the Citty towardes him, and meeting together, not the eyes but the countenance of the king (as it may bee sayde) was setled on him. Wherupon (a thing noted by many of the Archbishoppes trayne) neither did the king nor any of his vouchsafe to visite the Archbishop that night in his lodging, but rather early in the morning caused a Masse for the deade to bee celebrated in his Chappel, fearing (as it was reported) least if the Archbishop were there present, hee would otherwise offer him at Masse the kisse of peace, which then to refuse were not the parte of a Christian, but Christes enemy. When the Masse was ended, the king departed the Citty hastening to the Parlee &c.

The Parlee with the Earle beeing finished, saint Thomas speaking with the king beesought him that before his returne into England his possessions might bee restored, which the king denyed, saying, hee should first returne, and afterwardes haue restitution of his possessions.] And thus much concerning this encounter at Towers. Saint Thomas came afterwards to the king (as Herbert continuinge this history sayth) at the halde Monntaine neere Bloys, where hee could obtayne nothing of the king but only promises without any performance: Wherupon saint Thomas returning to Senon and taking his leaue of the king of France, trauelled to the hauen of Whitesand there to take shippe for England: and there (sayth Herbert) the Archbishop before hee embarked himselfe sent ouer first my Lord the Popes before rehearsed letters of the generall suspension of the English Bishoppes, together with the Excommunication of some, certaine of which number beeing Roger of Yorke, Gilbert of London, and Iocelme of Salisbury comming thether for passage to England, did euen in the porte receaue their letters

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of Suſpenſion and accurſing. But allthough the Archbishoppe had warning as well by the Earle of Boleyne, as alſo by thoſe who arriued from England, that nothing but chaynes pryſons and treaſons were prepared for him in England, Hee neuertheles anſwered; Neither yet if I should bee torne peece-meale in ſunder would I deſiſte from my intended iourney; no force, no torture shall retayne mee daſtard-like any longer; it ſufficeth that our Lordes flocke hath now ſeauen yeeres mourned for their Paſtors abſence. And what hee profeſſed in wordes, the ſame did this Saint alſo confirme by letter, wryting to his king theſe his laſt lynes worthie an Apoſtolike man, who dreaded not to ſuffer death for his flocke beeing theſe wordes.

Chd Vat. li. 5. Ep. 14. The laſt letter of ſaint Thomas to the kinge of England.

[It is knowne to Chriſt the ſearcher of hartes, the iudge of ſoules and reuenger of ſinnes, with how great purity of mynde and ſincerity of affection wee concluded our peace with your Maieſtie, beeleiuing, you would haue proceeded plainly and iuſtly with vs: for what elſe (moſt excellent Lord) could wee conceaue of your wordes, which either in arguing or courteſy out of your fauorable goodnes you communicated with vs? The letter moreouer you directed to my Lord and king your ſonne for reſtoring to vs and ours all the poſſeſſions wee held before our departure from England, what could it pretend but good will, peece and ſecurity? but loe, that which God knoweth wee accompt more greeuous for the edangering of your renowne; then the loſſe of our commoditie, the want of performance beareth no coulor of ſimple meaning or faythfull dealing; for the reſtitution you willed to bee made to vs and ours, was put of for fifteene dayes in regarde of Raynulphe, with whom, beeing of counſell to my Lorde your ſonne, they thought conuenient in the meane time to con-

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ferre about the accomplishment of this your commandement. What manner of persons these are, and how, and with what iustice this busines is caryed, you at your pleasure may examine. For vs, wee are perswaded all this is donne to the dommage of the Church with the danger of your saluation and renowne, vnles with diligence you reforme it. For the sayde Raynulphe meane while maketh hauocke of the Churches gooddes, and euen now carryeth openly away in greate abundance our house-hould prouision as wee heare by their reporte, who (if it pleaseth you) will bee ready to iustify the same, and lastly hath vaunted in the presence of many that wee shall not long inioy your gratious peace, beecause wee shall not eate a whole loafe in England, beefore (as hee threateneth) hee beereaueth vs of life. You knowe (most excellent Lord) hee is accessary of an offence, who, when, it is in his power to correct an others sinne, neglecteth to amend it. And what can that Raynulphe doe, but by your leaue, and armed with your authority? And what answer hee will make to the letter of my Lord and king your sonne wryting to him on this occasiō, your wisedome will heare and iudge therof as it liketh you. And beecause it is now manifed by apparant proofes that the holy Church of Canterbury mother of the Britanns perisheth for the very hatred of our life, to the ēd she may not dye, but be freed of dāger, we will by gods grace in her quarrell expose our life as well to the sayde Raynulphe as other his cōfederates the Churches persecutors, beeing prepared not only to dye, but also to suffer a thousand deathes and all tormentes whatsomeuer for Christes sake, if hee of his grace wouchsafe to graunte vs the fortitude of patience. I determined (my Lord) to haue returned vnto you, but that necessity draweth me a wretch to my wretched Church, repayring to her

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with your fauor and licence, and (it may bee) periſhing, leaſt otherwiſe shee periſheth, vnles your piety vouchſafeth to yeelde vs preſently ſome other cõforte; but whether wee dye, or liue, wee are and shall euer bee in our Lord yours, and whatſoeuer beecommeth of vs and ours, God euer bleſſe you and your iſſue.] And thus the good Shepheard, beeing now ready to offer his life for his sheepe, deliuered himſelfe moſt Chriſtian-like, as the follower of Chriſt, out of the purity of his conſcience, and the ſincerity of his fayth, which had bin able to haue melted Pharaos moſt hardened harte.

But in regarde (as it is allready ſayde) beefore euer hee ſett foote in England, hee ſent ouer the Popes letters of Excommunication and Suſpenſion againſt the Biſhops, let none impute it to any rashnes of his for diſturbing the publick peace; but that whatſoeuer hee did was by the kinges counſell and approbation, as hee often profeſſed openly when his aduerſaryes in England did on that occaſion riſe againſt him, whoſe wordes ſoe many times recyted by Herbert in Quadrilogus are theſe. [Concerning the Biſhoppes whom yee alleage to bee ſuſpended or excommunicated by mee, or thorough my procurement; bee yee in your diſcretion without all doubt certified, that whatſoeuer was done, was by the kinges conſent and counſell: For when on the feaſt of ſaint Mary Magdalene, a peace beeing concluded beetweene vs, hee receaued mee into his former fauor, I theruppon complayning before his Maieſtie of the iniuryes and inſolencyes committed againſt mee and myne, eſpecially by the Biſhoppes, who in deſpight of their Mother Church of Canterbury beelonging to my charge, were not afrayde to vſurpe, hee graunted mee moſt gratiously his leaue to obtayne from my Lord the Pope any cenſure whatſo-

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meuer to repaire my wronged right, soe as not only hee enclined to consent, but vouchsafed also to promise mee his assistance.] And thus publickly professed saint Thomas beefore those cruell kinghtes of the kinges Guarde.

But let vs pursue the history, and especially concerning the tyme when hee tooke shipping for England, whereof Herbert in Quadrilogus of the life of S. Thomas discourseth thus. [In the yeere therfore of our Saviours Incarnation 1170. and the seauenth yeere of his exile, beeing now beegune, on the second and third day of our Lordes Aduent, the glorious frend of God, and most constant defender of the Church Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, with his followers beeing imbarked in the night, launched forth, and hauing a prosperous wind according to their desire landed in England.] Soe much concerning his sayling and arriuall. And Iohn of Salisbury whom saint Thomas had sent before into England perswaded the people by his letters yet extant, to meete their Pastor according to the example of their ancestors who mett saint Anselme in his returne from exile: But therin were they hindred by the enuy and hatred of his aduersaryes. Now for the passage of matters after his comming into England, thore remayneth a large relation of Iohn of Salisbury to Peeter Abbot of saint Remigius; yet let vs neuertheles heare a more certaine reporte of these occurrents written by saint Thomas himselfe to Pope Alexander, beeing the last of all his Epistles, for not many dayes after was hee murdered by the kinges Guarde. This of his to Pope Alexander was indighted in these wordes.

Cod. Vat. li. 5. ep. 63.

Ibid. ep. 64

The last epistle of saint Thomas to the Pope.

[Vppon how iust and honorable condicions wee concluded our peace with my Lord the king of England I suppose your Holines is certifyed as well by

the relation of vs as diuers others who haue trauelled beetweene : neither yet doe wee thinke you to bee ignorant how my Lord afterwardes ſtewe of from theſe his conuenants and promiſes, which neuertheles wee beelieue not to bee ſoe much his faulte, as the faulte of the Preiſtes of Baal, and the children of the falſe Prophetts, who from the beeginning haue bin the fewell of this diſſention: But the cheife leaders of theſe are that Yorke and London, who ſometimes when you were at Senon, vppon their returne from you; hauing neither ſeene our king nor heard him ſpeake, were not afrayde to beereaue vs of our poſſeſſions, beeing then preſent in the Courte of your Clemency: allthough it was vndoubtedly knowne to them, as beeing the parties appealed, how mee proſecuted two appeales before your Holines. When therfore theſe Ringleaders of the Baalamites were aduertiſed of the peace wee made with my Lord the king, ioyning to them Salisbury and other their confederates, they ſought by ſea and land to cutt in ſunder this knott of vnited peace, perſwading as well by themſelues as others my Lord the king and his counſell how vnprofitable and dishonorable this cõcord should bee to the kingdome, vnles the indowments of our Churches, which his Maieſtie had made, should remayne ſtable, and wee alſo bee enforced to obſerue the cuſtomes of the kingdome beeing the cauſe of all this controuerſy; Wherupon they preuayled ſoe farre in their peruerſityes, as my Lord the king by their inſtigation tooke from vs and ours all our rents from the time of the peace which was concluded on ſaint Mary Magdalens day, vntill the feaſte of ſaint Martin, yeelding vs then at laſt empty houſes and ruinated barnes; and yet notwithſtanding his clearkes G. Rydell and Nigell de Sackeuylle doe at this day withhoulde frõ vs two of our Churches which

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which they receaued from a lay inueſture, and the king himſelfe denyeth vs many poſſeſſions of our Bishoppricke which in the reformation of this peace hee vndertooke to reſtore. But albeeit (as it is knowne to many) hee beebaueth himſelfe, otherwiſe then it beeſeemeth againſt the artickles of peace; conſidering neuertheles the outragious and irreuocable ſpoyles of the Church, and for preuentiō of farre greater, hauing alſo taken aduiſe with my Lordes the Cardinalles, wee reſolued to returne vnto our torne Church thus troaden vnder foote, which if wee cannot, as wee would, rayſe againe and repaire, yet at the leaſt dying with her wee may more confidently in her preſence ſpend our life for her ſake: which determination of ours when theſe our enemys did more certaynly vnderſtand, I knowe not vpon what feare they conſulted with the kinges officers and that moſt ſinfull childe of perdition Raynulphe Broc, who abuſing the power of the publicke gouernment againſt the Church of God, hath now for theſe ſeauen yeares made hauocke more freely therof.

Wherupon they concluded to keepe moſt carefully with armed men and a continuall guarde of ſcoutes and ſouldiers the ſea coaſtes and hauens, where they ſuppoſed wee would arriue, that wee might not land beefore they had ſearched all our lading, and taken away all ſuch letters as wee obtayned from your Maieſtie. But by the goodnes of God it ſoe fell out that all their attemptes were made knowne to vs by our freindes, who ſuffered not their impudency builded vpon preſumption to lurke concealed. For theſe armed ſcoutes did ſcoure the ſea coaſtes running heere and there according as the foreſayde Bishoppes of Yorke, Lonlom, and Salisbury, directed them; and they made choyſe for execution of their malice, of ſuch as were

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knownte to bee our greatest enemys, beeing Raynulphe de Broc, Reynold de Warrenne and Gervase shyreefe of Kent who threatened openly to cutt of my heade if wee presumed to arriue. These afore recyted Bishoppes came often to Canterbury, that if this armed route were not outragious enough, they might yet more incense them: Hauing therefore more thoroughly vnderstood their determination, wee sent away your letters a day before wee toke shipping, excepting for the suspension of Yorke, and the recalling of London and Salisbury into their former sentence of Excommunication, which were deliuered to their handes. On the morrow wee went to sea, and saylyng prosperously arriued in England, takyng along with vs, according to the kinges commandement, Iohn Deane of Salisbury who not without sorrowe and shame beeheld these armed troupes posting to our shippe of purpose to assaulte vs in our landing; wherfore the Deane fearing least if any wrong should bee offered to vs and ours, it would redound to my Lord the kinges dishonor, mett the souldiers and charged them in the kinges name, thicher to hurte vs nor ours, because it would taynte the king himselfe, betweene whom and vs a peace was now concludd, with some note of trechery, and therfore consulted them that laying armes aside they would come peaceably to vs. Yet they in regarde wee brought with vs Symon Arch-deacon of Senon, who came ouer to visite his frendes in England, requyred him to take the oath of fealty to our kings the father and sonne, and that against all men, not so much as excepting your Holines, vs, or any other. But wee would not suffer any such oath to bee tendred, fearing least the Clergy of the kingdome should bee enforced to sweare in like sorte, if those of our owne house should bee thus intangled in

How saint Thomas was vsed at his landing in England.

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bandes, which Yorke, London, and Salisbury
her with their confederates to the dammage of
postolike Sea endeauor, to the end the authority
f may bee blowne vp, or at the least diminished
kingdome. But the officers, who exacted this
beecause they were not accompanyd with ma-
ete not able in that place to inforce vs to any
otherwise then wee would, for the people reioy-
out returne could easily haue ouermatched
they would haue stood vpon their strength.
thence vnto our Church wee were with great
n receaued both of the Clergie and Layety;
gh the intruded incumbentes, doe as yet vio-
sse our Churches, among which are chiefest
or the plague as vexation of the Church Gau-
dell our Archdeacon, and Nigel de Sackeuille
ke, of whom the one, I meane Gaufride Ry-
deth the Church of Otforde, and the other
Sackeuyle the Church of Berges, which to-
with the fruytes reaped thence, they were by
ndate bounden to restore to vs and our Clear-
ue owners of them: for you commanded my
Roane and the Bishop of Niuers to absolue
uing first according to custome receaued the
t of the Church, and then beeing enioyned
thority to restore vs our Churhces, with
moditys.

ome to our Church, there were presently
kinges officers, demanding on his beehalfe
d of Yorke and the Bishoppes of London
ry informed vs) that wee should absolue the
Bishoppes and the excommunicated, bee-
soeuer was donne against them, redounded
lies iniury, and withall to the ouerthrowe of
ustomes, promising how the Bishoppes of

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our Prouince, after this abſolution, ſhould repaire to vs, and with reſeruation of the kinges honor, willingly obey our iuriſdiction. Whereunto wee anſwered, that it was not the parte of an inferior iudge to diſſolue the ſentence of his Superiour, and how noe man could infringe what the Apoſtolike Sea had decreede: Yet neuertheles in regarde they vrged more inſtāſtly and threatened that my Lord the king (vnles wee aſſented to them) would attempt ſuch matters as would amaze and aſtonish vs, wee tould them, if the Bishoppes of London and Salisbury would ſweare beefore vs according to the forme of the Church, that they would obey your commandement, wee would then for purchaſing the Churches peace, and for the reuerence wee bore to the king, with the aduice of himſelfe, my Lord of Wincheſter, and others our breathren, by making a tryall, vndergoe the danger, and doe therin what poſſibly wee could, with preſeruation of your reuerence; and moreouer loue them as our deereſt brethren, and vſe them with all ſweetenes and gentles; which beeing declared, by Byshoppes, who paſſed betweene, Yorke ſeeking occaſion of diſſenſion, anſwered together with others, who blewe the coales of Scyſme, that ſuch an oathe was not to bee taken but with the kinges conſente, eſpecially by Bishoppes, beecauſe it was contrary to the Princes dignity and the cuſtomes of the kingdome; wherunto on our parte wee replyed: That whereas the ſame Bishoppes were beefore excommunicated by vs, they could not by vs bee abſolued, but with the aſſurance of an oathe, after they had with earneſte ſutes ſollicited vs: and then if our ſentence could not bee looſed but with the caution of an oathe, much leſſe could yours which is far ſtronger, and without comparaiſon exceedeth vs and all mortall men in authority.

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ppon which our ſpeeches (as ſome tould vs who preſent) the Bishoppes were ſo far moued, as they mined to come to vs, and receaue abſolution ac-ng to the manner of the Church, not eſteeming to oppoſe themſelues againſt the Church, and gne the Apoſtolicall decrees for preſeruation of oyall cuſtomes: But that man the Aduerſary of and diſturber of the Church (Yorke I meane) aded it, aduiſing them rather to flye to our Lord ng, who euer hetherto patronized thē, and like-o ſend Meſſingers to our new kinge who perſwade him that wee intended to depoſe him; s (God is our wittnes) ſoe it might bee to the hes auayle, wee had rather hee should poſſeſſe, ly this one kingdome, but alſo the moſt and moſt dominions of the world. The cheifeſt medler in eſſage was our Archdeacon, For Yorke with the wo forenamed Bishoppes paſſed ſpeedily ouer s, that (which God forbid) they might inuea-Lord the king, and incenſe him to bitter wrath the Church. They cauſed alſo to bee ſummo-of the land ſix perſons of the vacant Churches, nd they might there with their counſell, con-the Cannons, before our king in an other dominiō, the reſt of their brethren being abſent, e the electiō of the Bishoppes of our Prouince; Bishoppes ſoe elected if wee refuſed to cenſe-en ſeemed they to haue occaſion enough for diſſention beetwene our Lord the king and here is not a thing which they more feare then ches peace, leaſt then their workes should uered, and their enormityes corrected. The ng much more wee referre to his Meſſingers which leaſt it should bee tedious, wee for-vryte. What appertayneth to your Holines,

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if it pleaſeth you, vouch ſafe with clemency to heare our petitions.] This was his laſt Epiſtle written to Pope Alexander, taking leaue for euermore to ſpeake by letters.

Cod Vat. lib. 3. Epiſt 94.

Wherin eſpecially becauſe there remayneth with ſuch ample notes ſoe preciſely pourtrayted forth the wickednes of moſt vnworthy preiſtes and principally of Yorke his moſt potent and impudent aduerſary, the fire and fewell of all theſe miſcheifes, to whoſe counſell and ſuggeſtions the king conſenting was drawne headlong thorough the craggie rockes of diſcord to all miſeryes, and diſtracted from all peace and tranquility, wee intend heere before wee enter farther into this deadly diſcourſe, to lay downe of him to the world what his beeginning was, all which you are to receaue from the relation of Iohn of Salisbury the moſt exact wryter of that tyme, out of that Epiſtle (I meane) which hee ſent to the Biſhop of Senon after the Martyrdome of ſaint Thomas, where firſt rehearſing the ſame hee vſeth afterwardes, theſe words.

A narration of the Archbiſhop of Yorke.

[The cheife leader of all theſe was that Yorke who you beeheld and heard openly in the Courte perſecuting the Archbiſhop.] And againe thus. [Yea you knowe this Caiphas of our age, who vnder the coulor of a Playntiffe perſwaded it was conuenient that one man ſhould dye, or bee apprehended, leaſt otherwiſe the whole nation ſhould perish; you were in England with your vnkle my Lord of Winchester, when this ſame Caiphas, thenan Archdiuell procured one Walter to bee beereaued of his eyes, the beauty of whoſe youth hee fowly louing, was vſually dilighted with the abhominable abuſe of his body; and this hee did, becauſe Walter with bitter wordes freely diſgorged his ſtomacke of the fowle reproach hee had ſuffered to the ſhame of nature; nor yet contented heerewith,

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Archdiuell corruptingthe Iudges (who decyded
lar cauſes) inforced him, to bee hanged, for that
rwardes hee reproued his wickednes. Soe this man
eſſe mercifull then chaſte requyted the affection
is Doue, ſoe hee rewarded the wonted ſeruice of
nce beeloued, as after the horrible iniury to his
rable body, hee punished him more miſerably
ing now penitent for conſenting to this loathſome
e with ſcourging and loſſe of eyes, and laſtly moſt
erably ſtrangled him on the Gallowes, beecauſe
n all the clamour hee could hee proteſted theſe
nges. Wee deuiſe not this, but endeauor to recall
o your memory, if perchance that may poſſibly
pe out of your memory, which, as with an iron
er vpon the reporte of many, ād thoſe of great eſti-
tion and worthie of credit, hath bin more deepely
d in your mynde: For this ſorrowfull hiſtory euen
his very day is ſung vp and downe to the diſgrace,
contempt of the Church. But it may bee ſome
l aske how hee could paſſe vnpunished hauing
mmitted ſoe greate and manifeſt an offence, eſpe-
lly ſince bleſſed Eugenius then gouerned the Catho-
e Church? And doubtles (as wee conſtantly bee-
ue) hee had neuer eſcaped but by the induſtry of
nt Thomas, who wrought thorough the mediation
thoſe reuerent men Hillary Bishop of Chicheſter
d Iohn Bishoppe of Wincheſter that hee might re-
aue his purgation beefore Theobalde of worthie me-
ory late Archbishop of Canterbury. Yet perceauing
erwardes how the Church of Rome tooke in ill
rte the order of this purgation thus ſecretly caryed,
beeing only in a Chapter of Monkes, and not in a
lemne aſſembly, beeing carefull of his eſtate hee paſ-
d ouer to Rome to that famous Marchant Gregory
ardinall of ſaint Angelo, whom my very ſoule hath

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euer hated, and by his procurement thorough the multitude of rewardes ſowed in the Courte, obtayned to returne home iuſtifyed in his houſe, beeing reſerued I knowe not by what diſpenſation of God, to committ farre more heynous offences, as wittneſſeth this preſent day wherin the Church is dyed purple with the blood of an Innocent.] Thus wryteth Iohn of Salisbury of this deteſtable man, whom in ſteede of an Archdeacon hee termeth an Archdiuell, and beeing afterwardes preferred to bee an Archbishop, hee calleth rightly an other Caiphas of this tyme, the executioner of ſaint Thomas, who perhaps had beefore fauored him too much. But how theſe warring veſſells of iniquity incenſed the king againſt ſaint Thomas, is thus deſcribed by Herbert in Quadrilogus. The king was ſoe troubled ād deepely offēded, by the accuſatiōs of theſe Bishoppes, againſt ſaint Thomas, whom with exclamations they called the Moleſter of the kingdome, the perſecutor of Bishoppes, the enemy of all good men, and the Princes profeſſed foe, as outragious with fury, hee fell into thoſe moſt bitter wordes, wherby they who guarded his perſon were incited to attēpt the murder of this moſt holy man. For (ſayth hee) beeing very often enraged with wrath, breeaking out into thoſe deadly wordes, *Hee curſed all whom hee had nourished, who by the ſpeciall grace of his fauour and larges of his beneſittes were bound vnto him; beecauſe they would not reuenge him of one Preiſt who ſoe diſturbed his perſon and kingdome, and ſought to deprriue and diſinherit him of his dignities.* And euer breathing out theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches, the king ſtirred all his followers extremely againſt him, amonge whom fourre Knightes more deſperate then the reſt, combining together, conſpired the Archbishoppes death, and paſſing ſpeedily into England came to the Arch-

The king by his rash indvnaduiſed wordes giueth occaſion of the murder of S. Thomas.

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Bishope, where quarrelling with fowle reproaches and
rising to contentious wordes, they picked their wished
occasion out of the Archbishoppes freedome in speaking. And then lastly the next day after the feast of the
Blessed Innocents, they assaulted him in the Church
with naked swoardes beeing there at Euensong. First
he saint reproued the Clearkes, beecause they intended by shutting the Churches dores to exclude them,
saying: *The Church was not to bee kepte as a castle.* The
whole matter with all circumstances which foreran
d succeeded the Martyrdome are at large deliuered in
Quadrilogus, and many thinges are there layde open
which are omitted in other Authors, who haue to their
mmendation labored in this worke, all which Ro-
rin his Chronicles of England hath breifely collec-
d, in such sorte, as, by liuing in that tyme, hee kuewe
em to bee acted, which hee lefte wrytten in these
rdes.

The Martirdome of S. Thomas.

Scarce therfore had our Father continued a full mo-
h in his Church, when loe the fifte day after our
rdes natiuity, came to Canterbury foure knightes,
rather souldiers of Sathans Guarde, whose names
e. *William de Tracy, Hughe de Moruyle, Richard*
ton, and Reynold Fitz-vrse, men truly of eminent
ilyes, but now instantly confounding with eternall
ny, for attempting a detestable offence, the glory of
knighthoode and tytles of their descents. Where-
entring into the Archbishop, beecause salutation
not directed in their handes, letting passe all vsuall
ations, out of their conceaued malice they burst to
les of Pride and arrogancy, they receaue and re-
answers, heaping threates on threates, and leauing
ind them despightes and reproaches, departe: But
tly returning all armed, and an armed troupe at-
ng them, they entred with force the Cloyster of

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the Monkes, while with modeſty and grauity the Archbishop paſſed on beefore them into the Church, beeing perſwaded yea compelled by the Monkes, in regarde of the ſolemne feaſte, to ſolemnize Euenſonge, when looking backe hee ſawe them in armes perſuing him amid the Cloyſters. The horror of the ſinne ought to haue restrayned them from entring the Church, but neither the reuerence of the ſolemnity could make thē deſiſte from this monſtrous offence, nor the innocency of the Patriarcke could terrify them from shedding his blood, yea ſoe far forth did the impudent reſolution of committing this heynous wicked acte poſſeſſe and blinde them, as they neither reſpected the loſſe of their knighthoode, nor had the leaſt conſideration of any enſuing danger: Headlong therfore and ſenſeles of the ſinne, making after the Archbishoppe with naked ſwoardes, they rush into the Church asking with furious exclamations: *Where is the Traytor?* But no man anſwering, redoubling againe they demanded: *Where is the Archbishoppe?* Wherfore the Confeſſor of Chriſt now inſtantly to bee crowned with Martyrdome knowing the firſt ſlanderous name tobee falsly impoſed on him, but the laſt agreeable to him in regarde of his fuuction, deſcending the ſteppes, and meeting them ſayde: *Loe heere I am!*

And beehaued himſelfe with ſoe great conſtancy, as neither his mynde ſeemed any way to bee mouued with feare, or his body aſtonished with horror: To whom one of theſe cruell knightes in the ſpiritt of fury ſayd: *Thou ſhalt inſtantly dye, for it is impoſſible thou ſhouldſt longer liue.* Wherunto the Archbishop anſwered with no leſſe conſtancy of wordes then mynde. *I am prepared to dye for the cauſe of God, the defence of Iuſtice, and the liberty of the Church: But if yee ſeeke my life, I forbid yee on the beehalfe of Allmighty God, and*

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vnder the paine of incurring his curse, to hurte any way any other, bee hee Monke, bee hee Clearke, bee hee Layman, bee hee more, bee hee lesse, but let them bee free from the paine, as they are no parties to the cause. These wordes in his suffering seeme like to those of Christ in his passion saying. *Yf yee seeke mee, suffer these to departe.* Then layde the knightes instantly handes on him to drawe him out of the Church, and soe to murder him, but could not moue him. Wherfore the Archbishoppe seeing these his executioners with swordes ready drawne, as one praying, bowed downe his heade vttering these his last wordes *I commend to God, our Blessed Lady with the Saintes Patrons of this Church and S. Denise my selfe and the cause of his Church.* And soe his Martyr with an inuincible mynde and admirable constancy did not in all his tortures speake one worde, yeelde any noyse, giue any sighe, or heaue his hand against any blowe, but helde his enclined heade thus exposed to the swordes vnmoueable, till all was ended.

The knightes on the other syde fearing least the multitude of men and wome flocking all about would rescue him out of their handes before they accomplished their intent, hastened their heynous sinne: then one of them lefting vp his sworde to make a blowe at the Archbishoppes heade cutt of the arme of Clearke called *Edward Grimfere* and wounded with our lordes Anoynted. This Clearke stretched out his arme ouer his Fathers heade to receaue the blowe, rather to beate it away. As yet stoode the iust, suffring for iustice, as an innocent Lamb without murre, without clamor, and offering himselfe as a sacrifice to our Lord, hee prayed to his Saintes for assistance. And that none of this accursed crewe might in bearing the Archbishoppe bee found guiltles of this

The cruelty vsed in the slaughtering of saint Thomas.

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foule cryme, the ſecond and third of them dashed cruelly their ſwordes on the heade of this conſtant Champion, and breaking his braynes whurled headlong downe to the grownd this oblation of the holy Ghoſt. And laſtly the fourth outragious with more then deadly yea hellish cruelty, when the Sainte was now proſtrate, yea yeelding vp the Ghoſt, cutt of his shauen crowne, broake in peeces the ſcull of his head, and thruſting in the point of his ſword, threwe out on the pauement of ſtone his braynes together with the blood.

The time of the Martyrdome of S. Thomas.

Our Abel hauing therfore conſummated the glory of his Martyrdome, in breife accomplished many tymes; for the ſeauenth yeere of his exile now beeginning, the afore ſayd Martyr Thomas for the law of God and the Churches liberty, which in the English Church was allmoſt wholly perished, cõbated euen to death, and dreaded not the wordes of the wicked, for beeing founded on a firme rocke, which was Chriſt, hee for the name of Chriſt, in the Church of Chriſt, on the fifte day of Chriſtes Natiuity, beeing the day after the feaſte of the Innocents, was himſelfe an Innocẽt ſlayne, whoſe innocẽt life and death for the meritt of the cauſe pretious in the ſight of God, haue bin manifeſted with many miracles, which not only in the place of his reſt, but in diuers other nations ãd kingdomes are alſoe with admiration showed. The ſame day was the paſſion of ſaint Thomas reuealed by the holy Ghoſt to bleſſed Godric an Anchoryte at Fintz-hall, a place diſtant from Canterbury aboue an hundred and three ſcore myles.

Heereupon the Monkes of the Church of Canterbury shutt vp the dores of the Church, which remayned in ſuch ſorte ſuſpended from the celebration of Maſſe for allmoſt a whole yeere; vntill they receaued the

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Churches reconciliation from Pope Alexander. Concerning the Martyrs body, the Monkes taking it away placed it the first night in the Quire, performing ouer it the Exequies of the deade, and it is credibly affirmed that the Obsequies beeing ended, lying in the Quire on the Beare, about the breake of day hee lifted vp his hand and gaue them his Benediction, afterwards they buryed him in a vaulte.] Thus far Roger wryting of the Martyrdome and buryall of saint Thomas. And this was the end of this most glorious Martyr, who conquered with his blood, and tryumphed in the torments of a violent death, and now renowned with the Garland of a most famous Martyrdome, is mounted vp to the Courte of heauen, leauing to all posterites an example of singular constancy to fight euen to the last gaspe for maintayning the Churches liberty. But instantly fell headelong on his enemyes now vanquished and ouerthrowne by their owne wicked victory, horror and dreade, as men afflicted on all sydes with remorse reuenging sinne. But of this shall bee heereafter our later discourse, as a tracte more miserable.

The buryall of S. Thomas.

As touching the tyme of his noble Martyrdome, although it appeareth out of soe many beefore recyed Epistles, that the most holy man was this selfe same yeere on the sayd day slayne with the swordes of the mpious; yet neuertheles in some Authors his Maryrdome is founde to bee mentioned in the yeere ollowing, as in the Epitaph recited by Roger in the Chrinicles of England, and by Robert de Monte, eeing thus written.

A thousand, hundred, seauenty one it was
When Prymate Thomas with the swords was slayne:
The fifte of Christmas from the world did passe
This worldes faire flower, whose fruit with God doth reigne.

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But where they affirme his paſſion to bee in the yeere a thouſand one hundred ſeauenty one, it proceedeth hence that they beegan their yeere from our Lordes Natiuity: For they who reckon from the Kalends of Ianuary or the Incarnation of our Sauiour doe truly and boldly alleage this ſame to bee the yeere of his Martyrdome, as the wryters of Quadrilogus in theſe wordes: [Thomas that notable Champion of God, Archbiſhoppe of the Church of Canterbury, Prymate of all England, and Legate of the Apoſtolike Sea, ſuffered death in the yeere after our Lordes incarnation one thouſand one hundred and ſeauenty, beeing aged fifty three, on the fourth of the Kalends of Ianuary beeing then Tewſeday about the eleuenth howre of the day; ſoe the fifte day of our Sauiours birth into this world of miſery, was his birth day vnto eternall glory.] Thus there.

The wauering ſtate of the Church of Canterbury.

The ſame yeere alſo, the Church of Canterbury beeing thus depriued of ſaint Thomas, beegan to wauer, when the Cathedrall Mõkes of the ſayde Church would haue elected a ſucceſſor, without any reguarde of the Bishops of the Prouince, vnto whoſe office the ſame appertayned, which their bould attempt is reproued by Peter of Bloys, a man of great authority in the Church of England, hauing firſt moſt amply inlarged himſelfe in the high commendation of ſaint Thomas on this wiſe.

Apud Petrum Bleſẽ Epiſt 27. A conſolation for the death of S. Thomas.

To his moſt deere brethren and freindes Cannons of Beweueiwe Maſter Peeter of Bloys Archdeacon of Bathe Lendeth greeting with all loue.

The Paſtor of our ſoules is paſſed hence, whoſe deceaſe I meant to haue lamented, but hee is departed, not deade; arriued to life, not depriued of life: for death

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erby our Lord hath made his Saint soe marualious, is
death, but a sleepe, the porte of death the porche of
, an entry into the delightes of that heauenly countrey,
the Powers of Allmighty God, into the infinite
heues of eternall glory: For undergoeing a long iour-
, hee tooke with him plenty of money, intending to re-
ne in the full of the Moone, his soule (I say) riche in
ittes, leauing the body, shall in the generall and last
urrection returne againe full fraught to her old habita-
: Hauing gathered together many vertues, like sundry
rchandises into one bundell, hee passed therwith to the
eauenly Marte; that wretch laden with dayes, I meane
death of this miserable world, that mischeeuous, con-
tious, wayward, importunate, enuious, hurtefull and
tell old woeman beegan to vndoe and search precisely
s carryages, to see if there were any thing among those
lected meritties, which was subiect to her command:
t hee as a circumspect and discreete man would not en-
are ought that might endamage his life; for long beefore
d hee desired to bee dissolued and bee with Christ, and
eendid hee especially thirst to departe, out of the body of
is death; hee cast therfore into the mouth of this old
retch a litle duste as a tole or tribute; heereupon the same
lse rumor beegann to bee diuulged and spread among
e people, that a most cruell beast had deuoured Io- Genes. 36.
ph: Indeede the coate wherof hee was dispoyled was
deceytfull messinger of his death; for Ioseph liueth
ndraigneth throughout the whole land of Egipt; his bles- Idem 45.
ed soule disburdened of this corruptible loade and now
reely discharged of the dust of his earthly conuersation,
oath taken her flighte to heauen, Shee is assumpted by him
who sayd: I goe to prepare a place for yee, and I will Ioan. 14.
returne againe and assume yee vp vnto mee; beeing in
preise absolutely perfect hee closed vp many tymes;
hee is taken away least malice should peruert his vn-

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derstanding; *And to heauen now called is hee, whom this world was not worthie to hould; neither yet is his candell extinguished, but snuffed with transitory afstiction, to the end it may shine more gloriously, and not longer hid vnder à bushell, may now giue light to all throughout the house; hee appeared in the eyes of the foolish to dye, but his life resteth hid with Christ in God: death seemed to vanquish and swallowe him vp, but deathe it selfe is swallowed vp in victory.*

Thou hast giuen him (ô Lord) the desire of his harte, for hee was long a souldier vnder thy banner, keepeing warily seuere wayes in regarde of the wordes proceeding from thy lippes. Aßuredly from the very first conditions of his tender yough hee beegan to growe in the ripenes of manners grauely olde, repreßinge with watching, disciplines, haircloth and the girdle of continuall continency the motions of fleshly insolency: and therfore was hee called by our Lord as another Aaron to distribute the science of saluation vnto his people, to frame a nation acceptable to our Lord, a pursuer of meritorious workes, and to prepare for our Lord a perfect multitude. Our Lord did chuse him for a Preist to serue him, that hee might hee a guide to his congregation, a rule of life, a forme of pennance, an example of sanctity. Allmighty God the Lord of all sciẽces, beestowed on him a learned tongue, and powred into him abundantly the spirit of wisedome and vnderstanding, to the end hee might be among the lerned more lerned, among the wise more wise, among the good far better, among the hũble a cõpanion, among the greatest yet greater. Hee was à Preacher of the diuine worde, a trumpet of the Gospell, a freind of the spouse, a pillar of the Clergie, an eye to the blinde, a foote to the lame, the salte of this earth, the light of his countrey, the Minister of the highest, the Vicar of the anoynted of our Lord. The whole conuersation of his life was a scoole of honesty, a

forme

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a forme of manners a frame of ſaluation. Hee was in iudgment vpright, in diſpoſing dilligent, in commanding aduiſed, in ſpeech modeſt, in counſell circumſpect, in feeding himſelfe moſt ſparing, in feeding others moſt bountifull, in anger a peace-maker, in flesh an Angell, in ſuffering iniuryes meeke, in proſperity fearefull, in aduerſity moſt couragious, in almes liberall, in mercys wholly drowned.

Hee was the glory of the Religious, the delighte of the Laietie, the terror of Princes, the God of Pharao. Of this man wee may bouldly ſay and ſing: that hee ſtrayed not after golde, nor yet truſted in the treaſures of money, who diſdayned to bee either a receauer of brybes, or an accepter of perſons. Other men aduanced to the heygth of Cathedrall dignity being presently to haue a ſpeciall care of the Clearkes, they looke more warily to their diett, they feare no leſſe a ſickneſs of their body then hell it ſelfe, affecting in all thinges to prolonge their liues: but this Sainte from the very firſt entrance into his promotion, longed with a ſingular deſire for the end of his life, or to ſpeake more truly, for the beeginning of his eternall beeing. For as Salomon ſaythe: When hee endeth, then beeginneth hee. Soe his departure out of this tranſitory life was his entrance to that life which doth neither fade nor perish. Beeginning from his very childehoode hee laboured in euery ſeuerall age of his life, as in the ſundry deuided houres of a day like a ditligent and painefull workeman in the Vineyarde of our Lord of Sabaoth, and ſoe concluded the courſe of a temporall life in the full perfection of Saintes. Thus beeing a long tyme in his conſeruation, heauenly, and trauelling from his body, hee deſyred exceedingly to paſſe thorough a shorte concluſion of an earthly life to thoſe celeſtiall pleaſures; Catching therfore the intent and token of his perigrination, hee drunke of the brooke in the way of this world, and hath for that cauſe his name exalted Eccleſ. 18.

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in the heauenly countrey.

Soe the Maſters our brethren the Cathedrall Monkes now left as Orphans without a father: Allmighty God who rayſed from the deade the great Paſtor of his ſtocke our Lord Ieſus Chriſt in the bloode of his eternall teſtament prouyde a man (that I may vſe the worde of Moyſes) to bee ouer this multitude: For many complayne and indure it moſt impatiently that Chriſtes coate without ſeame is now rent beetweene them and the Biſhoppes of the Prouince, and that not only the Cowe and the Ramme, but alſo the Turtle and the Doue are deuyded and ſeperated one from an other. That Miſtriſſe of diſcorde, that mother of hatred, that preſumptious occaſion of ſcandalls, that vſurpation (I meane) of ſyding and ſingular election, hath preſumed to breake in, euen to the very profeſſors of Religion, ſo as contemning and caſting away the generall counſell of the Biſhoppes and Abbottes, they haue made a ſecret and ſtollen election contrary to cuſtomes, enemy to lawes, condemned by Decrees, reproued by practiſe. All others, who accompt now this election made by the Monkes to bee to their derogation and diſgrace, would willingly and with one conſent without any diuiſion or ſcandall haue conferred their voyces on the perſon by them named; but as this caſe ſtandeth, I feare leaſt this election (which God forbid) proue his deiection, and this attempting of a fayned liberty, turne to Chriſtes Church, into a matter of thralldome.

Num. 27.

The Scyſme raiſed in the Church of Cãterbury.

This plague truly and many others doe at this day generally infecte and corrupt the body of the Church: Laymen intrude themſelues into the holy Sanctuarys, and the ſtones of the Sanctuaryes are diſperſed apparantly in all high ſtreetes, Cloyſters are now conuerted to Caſtles and Market-places, Religious men to Ethnickes, Paſtors to Wolues, Lillyes to thornes, Gould to droſſe, Corne to Tares, Wine to Vinager, Oyle to Lees. Let Allmighty

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God yet cast an eye backe on the face of his Testament, neither let him giue ouer to bee troaden vnder foote the Vyne which hee hath planted with his right hand, the Church which hee hath purchased with his pretious bloode; let him stirre vp the spiritt of Moyses, and erect the horne of that Vnicorne, that only high Bishoppe, and without comparison most vniuersall, soe as his hand may execute iudgment, that with his horne hee may blowe ouer Siria, thunder against Edom, send out lightning against the Calfes of Bethel, against the Idolls of Egipt, against the fatt Cowes of Samaria, against the Preistes of Baal, against Shepherdes who feede themselues, against iudges who enact vniust lawes, against dumb dogges which are vnable to barke, against the earthen pott of Zachurie, against the vessells of the foolish Pastor, against the ambition of Simon Magus, against the tyranny of the world, against the presumption of the Cloyster, against deceytfull dealers, against oppressors of the poore, against disturbers of the Churches peace, against the subuerters of fayth. Thus wrote Peeter, the rest wee refer to their proper place.

AN. DOM. 1171.

Now followeth the yeere of our Lord 1171. with the fourth Indiction. When the horrible murder of the most holy Martyr Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury beeing spread farre and neere, all the Westerne world was astonished, and the sighes of all deuoute people euery where breathed out, especially by letters from all partes, and those replenished with lamentations, and sent to Pope Alexander from sundry persons, beeing such, and in such sorte, as you may well say they were soe many glorious trumppetts and renowned Epithapes to celebrate the funeralls of this most worthie Martyr. Among which receaue heere

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firſt what the king of France wrote to Pope Alexander.

The king of Frances letter to the Pope about the death of ſaint Thomas.

To Alexander by the grace of God High Bishop Lewes by the same grace king of the French ſendeth ſalutations with due reuerence.

The childe reuolteth from the lawe of humane pietie, who diſgracefully abuſeth his mother, neither are they myndfull of their Creators benefitts who are not moued with ſorrowe for the abuſes offered to the holy Church: whereuppon wee haue now an eſpeciall cauſe of lamentation, and a new cruelty neuer heard of beefore begetteth a new ſorrowe: beecauſe malice riſing againſt the Saint of God, hath run her ſwordes point into the very aple of Chriſtes eye, and no leſſe cruelly then fowly ſlaughtered ſoe great a light of Gods Church. Styrre vp therefore ſome kinde of exquiſite iuſtice, and vnſheath ſaint Peeters ſworde for punishing the murder of the Martyr of Canterbury, beecauſe his blood cryeth out for the whole Church; not ſoe much exclayming reuenge for his owne particular as for all. And beehould at the Tombe of this Champion (as it is reported to vs) the diuine glory shyneth with miracles, and God sheweth from heauen where hee reſteth on earth, who in his quarrell ſo couragiously fought. The bearers of theſe letters, who are beereft of this their father will relate the whole matter to your Holines; yeelde therfore a moſt gentle eare to the teſtimony of this truth, and as well heerin as otherwiſe beelieue them as you would beelieue our ſelues. God proſper you euer. Thus the king. The Earle of Bloyes alſo wrote to the ſame effect vnto his Holines. More ouer the Bishop of Senon then Legate for the Apoſtolicke Sea ſent two Epiſtles to the Pope about the death of ſaint Thomas. But omitting theſe, as tēding all to one purpoſe, let vs ſee the reſt, the meſſin-

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ers, I meane, sent by the king of England to Rome, who offered the vndergoeing of pennance for killing the martyr, as also of the diuers and excellent miracles now beegun to bee published at the Martyrs sepulcher with other things appertayning thereunto.

The Martyr thus killed in the end of the last yeere there was presently great recourse to the Pope, lying in Rome, of some (as you see) detesting and complaying of this damnable sacrilege, the accusers were pious princes, as, the king of France, the Earle of Bloys, and Bishoppes who were Legates, especially hee of Senon; others excusers, beeing an assembly of Bishoppes, among whom hee of Lizieux in all their names wrote thus to Pope Alexander.

The assembly of Bishoppes excusing the king of England.

[At such time as beeing gathered together with our king, wee determined to handle great matters concerning both the Church and kingdome, a rumor on the suddaine ouerwhelmed vs all in a lamentable confusion of sorrowe concerning our Lord of Canterbury, soe far forth as in a moment our calme was turned in to a turbulent tempest, our consultations into sighes: For by some returning from England wee were assuredly certifyed, that some of his enemyes beeing (as they say) with his sundry and seuere preceedinges against them prouoked to anger and madnes, rashly assaulted his person, and (what without greife wee cannot, nay ought not to speake) cruelly persisting, did strike and murder him: This vnhappy reporte came in the end by the relation of some to the kinges eares; beecause it was vnlawfull to conceale from him, what by the right of his power and sworde appertayned to him to punish; who instantly in the first vttering of this deadly discourse, as one changed and giuen ouer to all sortes of compassionate lamentation, quite altering his royall Maiestie into haire-cloth and ashes,

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shewed himſelfe more truly a freind then a king, beeing ſometimes aſtonished, and from aſtonishmentes falling into more greiuous ſighes and bitter ſorrowe: then allmoſt three days ſolitary, retyred in his chamber, hee neither endured to receaue ſuſtenance nor admitt conſolation, but ſeemed willfully by a more deadly greife to deſigne himſelfe to a voluntary death: Miſerable was the face of our miſcheifes, and our inward greifes fraighted with care, beecauſe wee who firſt lamented our Preiſt, beegan now therupon to diſpaire the recouery of our king, and beeleiued that in the death of one both would pittifully perish. But his friends and principally the Bishoppes complayninge eſpecially that hee would not ſuffer himſelfe to returne againe to himſelfe; hee anſwered, hee was in feare leaſt the Authors and complotters of this horrible acte, vpon confidence of the olde diſcorde promiſed themſelues pardon of the cryme, allthough himſelfe by fresh iniurys and ſundry bad turnes had heaped new diſſentions; and therfore thought the fame and glory of his renowne might bee clowded with the ſlaunders of his aduerſarys, and ſo falsly bruted that this matter proceeded from his owne will; But hee proteſted, as Allmighty God should iudge his ſoule, that this accurſed deede was neither acted by his will nor conſent, nor wrought by any deuiſe of his, vnles heerin were perhaps his error, that as yet hee was thought too litle to affect him; but in this alſo hee abſolutely ſubmitted himſelfe to the Churches iudgment, and would humbly vndergoe whatſoeuer for his ſoules health should bee impoſed and inioyned him. Conſulting therfore together, wee accorded all in this, that his Maieſtie should referre himſelfe to the wiſedome and authority of the Sea Apoſtolike, which the Chriſtian fayth profeſſeth more amply to abound with the ſpiritt of ſapience, and fullnes of power, and

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deauor there by lawfull and canonicall meanes to proue his innocency. Wee therfore humbly beech that according to the ſpiritt of counſell and fortude beeſtowed by God on you, you would with ſerity punish the Authors of ſoe heynous an offence ccording to this their enormious deſerte, and your poſtolike piety would with more ſingular affection onſerue ont kinges innocency in his former eſtate. llmighty God preſerue your perſon very long in ealth to his Churches vtility.] Hetherto the Bihoppe of Lizieux in the name of theſe aſſembled Bihoppes. With theſe letters were meſſingers allſo ſent o Pope Alexander from the Bishopps and others. parte from the king, and ſome likewiſe beefore theſe rom the Bishoppe of Yorke to ſue for abſolution from is excommunication; of all which there remayneth a relation from the kinges Meſſinger the Archdeacon of Poytiers in theſe wordes.

Meſsingers from the Bishoppes and king of Englād to Pope Alexander.

[Who were the firſt, and who the ſecond Embaſſadors of the king, and what as well theſe as theſe petitioned, and in what ſorte they departed from the Courte, I will as breifely as I can rehearſe. Firſt were Iohn Cumin and Maſter B. ſent to ſeeke abſolution for the Bishoppes; but Iohn Cumin came to the courte fifteene dayes beefore Maſter B. and after great importunity, hauing firſt made a promiſe of 500. Marcks, was admitted to audience, the Clearkes of the Archbishop of Yorke ād the Nuntio of Durhame partaking with him, and alleaging much in excuſe of the Bishopps, and they had, I thinke, obtayned abſolution, had not the rumor of the Archbishoppes death come on the heade of it, which abſolutely diſgraced all: for my Lord the Pope was therewith ſoe exceedingly troubled, that for allmoſt eight dayes not ſo much as his owne followers could haue conference

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with him, and it was generally conceaued that no Englishman should haue acceſſe vnto him, and ſo all their buſines remayned in ſuſpence.

The next Meſſingers were the Bishoppes of Worceſter and Ewreux, the Abbot of Valace, the Archdeacons of Salisbury and Lizieux, S. Robert of Newborough, Richarde Barre, Maſter Henry Pichim and one of the Templars, beeing all ſent to excuſe the king, that Canterbury was neither killed by his commandement nor will: yet was it not denyed, but that the king had giuen cauſe of his death, and ſpoken ſomewhat wherupon thoſe Murderers tooke occaſion to kill him; neither did thoſe Meſſingers come together to the courte, nor yet were admitted by my Lord the Pope, nor could appeare in his preſence. Afterwards vpon ſute of ſome Cardinalls, the Abbot and Archdeacon of Lizieux were receaued.

Thurſday before Eaſter approaching, it was generally ſayde in the Courte, that my Lord the Pope would that day pronounce ſentēce of excōmunication againſt the king, and kingdome: Wherupon the Meſſingers ſtroaken with feare, by the interceſſion of ſome Cardinalls, ſignifyed to my Lord the Pope, that they had receaued commandement from my Lord their king to make oathe in his preſence, that the king should obey his Mandate, and that the king should in his owne perſon ſweare as much. The ſame Thurſday about nyne of the clocke, as well the kinges meſſingers as the meſſingers of the Bishoppes were called in the generall Conſiſtory. The kinges Meſſingers beeing the Abbot of Valace and the two afore recyted Archdeacons Henry and Richarde Barre were ſworne, that the king should ſtand to the Popes iudgment, and that when his Holines should commande him, hee should take thereupon his Corporall oathe. Neuertheles the

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Pope generally excommunicated the same day the Murderers of saint Thomas, and all that gaue counsell, ayde, or assent therunto, and all who should receaue them into their land, or any way abett them.

The Relatiō of the Messingers proceedinges with the Pope.

After Easter came the Bishoppes of Worcester and Eureux with Robert de Newborough, and whether the sayde oath were required of them, I knowe not, but that they swore not, I am certaine; and when they had attended the Courte xv. dayes and more, they were called in to receaue their answer; for they with others agreede as well in excusing the king, as in accusing, according as hath bin sayde: And when it was supposed they should haue caryed backe a happie doome, my Lord the Pope confirmed the sentence of interdiction giuen by the Bishoppe of Senon against the kinges dominions on this syde of the Seas, with the sentence of suspension and excōmunication which was denounced against the Bishoppes of England; adding withall that hee would send his Legates to the king to see and vnderstand his humility. Afterwardes at the great instance of the Messingers, by the intercession also of some Cardinalls and large sommes of money (as it is sayde) this was obtayned: our Lord the Pope should wryte to the Archdeacon of Bitureux, that if within one moneth after these Messingers comming into Normandy hee hearde not his Legates had passed the Alpes, then hee should absolue the Bishoppes of London and Salisbury from excommunication, first taking of them an oathe to obey our Lord the Popes Mandate, they and the rest remayning neuertheless still in suspension. Thus departed our Lord the kinges Messingers from the courte, neither yet caryed they backe any thing else. But when they shall come, or who shall vndertake this iourney, I thinke it

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is hetherto vnknowne to the Cardinalls: Only now, as I beelieue, you neede not feare the Interdicton of England, ſoe as the king will ſubmitt himſelfe to the Legates. And our Lord the Pope wryteth to him, and inuyteth him to humility, yet hardly could hee bee wrought to wryte to him.]

Hetherto is the relation of one of the kinges Meſſingers. But theſe letters of Pope Alexander to the king of England are loſt. Now let vs heare a more faythfull and certaine reporte made by other the kinges Meſſingers vnto the king himſelfe, where no mention of money either offered or receaued (as the other vpon his falſe coniecture rehearſed) is made, although it contayneth a moſt exacte recytall of all and ſingular matters and wordes that paſſed: for thus it is.

To his deareſt Lord Henry the renowned king of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitayne and Earle of Anioue, R Abbot of Wallacia, R Archdeacon of Salisbury, R. Archdeacon of Lizieux, Richard Barre and Maſter Henry ſend greeting with due obedience in all thinges and euery where.

Theſe are to certify your Maieſtie that when Richard Barre going beefore vs had with great danger and trauaille come to our Lord the Popes courte, wee foure with the two Bishoppes, the Deane of Eureux and Maſter Henry with much difficulty attayned Sene; where for ſome dayes wee were conſtrayned to ſtay; for Count Macarius had on all ſydes ſoe beeſet the wayes, as there remayned no paſſage for any. When wee foure together with the Bishoppes (who earneſtly deſyred to departe) could not as wee would, in regarde of theſe exceeding difficulteyes,

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consulting in one, at midnight, with all secrecy wee sett forwarde, and so by craggy mountains and places allmost unpassable, with extreme feare and danger wee came in the end to Tusculan: There found wee Richard Barre, allthough (as beeseemed him) carefull of your honor, and labouring discreetely and instantly for your commodity, yet much troubled and confounded, in regard neither our Lord the Pope had yet receaued him, nor others had courteously and gently entertayned him: And for vs at our comming the Pope would neither see vs, nor receaue vs at his feete, yea many of the Cardinalls would hardly afforde vs a worde. Remayning therfore long and anxiously troubled in the bitternes of our soules, wee by all meanes hũbly besought those who more ẽtirely affected to you, that our Lord the Pope by their intercession would some way vouchsafe vs a hearing. The Lord Abbot of Wallacia & R. Archdeacon of Lizieux as men least suspected were first receaued to audience. But when they in salutation on your beehalfe beegan with your name inuytleing you the most deuoute childe of the Roman Church; The whole courte cryed out: forbeare, forbeare! As if it were abhominable to the Pope to heare your name. Soe comming from the Courte, in the euening they returned agayne to our Lord the Pope, deliuering to him by the aduice of vs all what by your Maiestie was commanded vs, declaring also distinctly the sũdry benefitites beesto wed by you on Canterbury, with the diuers excesses and importunityes committed by him against your dignity, and all this first in secret, then before our Lord the Pope and the whole Colledge of Cardinalls, where Alexander of Wales and Gunter of Flanders Clearkes of the Church of Canterbury intested and contended against you.

The name of the king of England now hatefull at Rome

Thursday before Easter beeing now at hand, on which day according to the vse of the Roman Church our Lord the Pope was accustomed to absolue or excommunicate in

publicke: whereas wee were certayne that with greate attention they had long handled this weyghty cauſe which ſoe neere touched your ſelfe and your kingdome, wee aduyſed with thoſe, who (as wee knewe) moſt fauored your Maieſtie, wee meane the Lords of Portua, and Hyacinth, the Lordes of Papia and Tuſculane with Peeter Lord of Mirle (for the Lord Iohn of Naples was abſent) importuning them with all labor and inſtance to lay open vnto vs our Lord the Popes intention, and what hee determined to decree concerning your ſelfe. But they on the other ſyde reporting nothing but diſaſters and matters diſgracefull to your renowne, wee perceiued out of the ſighes and ſorrowfull relation of thē all, eſpecially of your faythfull wellwisher brother French, that our Lorde the Pope had that day reſolued abſolutely with the ioynt conſent of all his brethren to pronounce the ſentence of interdiction againſt your ſelfe by name, and your dominions as well on this ſyde as beyond the ſeas, and alſo confirme the ſame ſentence, which was allready diuulged againſt the Biſhoppes. Beſett therfore with theſe extremityes wee attempted with our vttermoſt endeauors as well by the Cardinalls as thoſe our Aſſociates who had acceſſe to his holines, and likewiſe by his inward freindes, to make him deſiſt from this purpoſe, or at the leaſt deferre it vntill the comming of your Biſhoppes: which when it could no way be obtayned, wee according to our bounden duty to you, becauſe wee were neither able, nor ought to endure the great diſgrace of your perſon, with the agreiuances of all your principalityes, conſulting in the end with our Aſſociates beefore certayne Cardinalls, deuyſed à way good and ſecure for your ſtate and honor, profitable to all your dominions and neceſſary for your Biſhoppes: whereby wee auoyded that ignominy and danger euen now threatening your perſon, ſubiectes, and Biſhoppes, and expoſed our ſelues wholly to the vttermoſt perill for this your deli-

The Cardinalles who fauoured the king of England.

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uery, beelieuing and having a singular hope that it is (according as wee thinke) to your wished desire. For astonished with feare wee signifyed to our Lord the Pope by the interceſsion of the same Cardinalls, that wee had receaued commandemēt from you, to sweare in his presence that you shall obey his Mandate, and how your selfe in person shall make the sayde oathe.

The same thursday about nyne of the Clocke, were the Messingers called in, as well yours as the Bishoppes, and in the generall consistory were wee sworne, the Abbot (wee meane) of Wallacia, the Archdeacons of Salisbury and Lizieux, Master Henry and Richard Barre, that you shall stand to the Popes Mandate and take your corporall oathe at his appointment to this effecte. Then the Messingers of the Archbishop of Yorke and of the Bishoppes of London and Salisbury swoare in like sorte, that their Lordes should subiecte themselues to the Popes commandement and take an oath to that purpose. Neuertheles the same day hee generally excommunicated all theim who murdered Canterbury, and all who gaue counsell ayde or assent therunto, and all who should wittingly receaue them into their landes, or any way foster them. Our Lordes the Bishoppes of Worcester and Eureux, Robert of Newboroughe of Eureux, and Master Henry were presently to follow vs, whom wee lefte exceedingly greeued and troubled, that they could not according to their desire come to dispatch your busines, and it was their aduyce that wee should by all meanes make haste before, to hinder and auoyde the disgrace and calamity which your aduersaryes had prepared against you: For wee were assured the sword was ready in the courte to strike you, and wee feared that days wōted custome. God send your Maiestie lōg to prosper and florish. Bee comforted in our Lord, and let your harte reioyce, beecause after this present clowde, a faire calme will to your glory ensue. On Satturday before Palme

The Messingers sworne in the kings name.

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Sunday wee came to the Courte, and the Bearer of theſe letters departed on Eaſter day from vs.

Afterwardes, Eaſter beeing paſſed, Alexander adreſſed Legates to examine the king of England. Concerning this legation from the Pope, Herbert in Quadrilogus treateth wryting in theſe wordes. [But beecauſe confeſſion, as it neither can, nor ought to bee made by letters, ſoe neither can nor ought it to bee made by Meſſingers, and the liuely voyce of the penitent, by how much the more it encreaſeth deuotion, ſoe much the more hath it of vertue, the Apoſtolicke man Alexander ſent two Cardinalls a latere Maſter Theodinus of holy memory preiſt of the tytle of ſaint Vitalis or Veſtina (for it hath both names) and Albert of ſaint Laurence in Lucina preiſt Cardinall Chancellor of the Church; men truly endowed with all ſanctity and knowledge of Religion. But what was done by them ſhall heereafter in the proper place bee declared.

Legates to the king before the death of S. Thomas.

Meane while this ſame yeere, an other Legation ſent by Pope Alexander to the king of England, beefore any thing was knowne of the death of ſaint Thomas, came to vrge with Eccleſiaſticall cenſures the king, who (as hee, vnderſtood by the letters of ſaint Thomas) reuolted from his promiſe. What the Legates were, and how the king handled matters to euacuate their authority, Roger thus deliuereth this yeere. [In the meane tyme came from Pope Alexander into Normandy two Cardinalles, Legates a latere, who beefore (as hath bin ſayde) exerciſed the ſame Legatine office. Gratian (I meane) and Viuian, who aſſayled the king of England with greate and diuers vexations, intending to caſt him and his countrey into interdiction. But the king forewarned, and thereby armed, did before their entry into his land appeale to the Popes preſence,

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and soe kepte himselfe and his dominions free from aggreiuance, but fearing yet the seuerity of the Apostolike Sea, hee hasted to the seas syde, and passed ouer from Normandy into England, giuing a streight command, that none who brought any breife from the Pope, of what condicion or order soeuer hee was, should bee suffered to passe from Normandy into England, or from England into Normandy, vnles hee first entred into good security that hee sought noe hurte nor molestation to the king or his kingdome.] Hetherto concerninge this Legation sent beefore the Martyrdome of saint Thomas.

This Author proceedeth to the kinges iourney this yeere into Ireland, which kingdome hee challenged as yeelded to him by the consent of the whole countrey; where there was a counsell celebrated of foure Archbishoppes and 28. Bishoppes, all which receaued the king and his heires for their kinges, confirming the same with their Charters. This Counsell held at Casselen decreed many thinges cõmodious to the Church, as for Baptisme, Tythes, and Mariages, which the king sent to Pope Alexander, who confirmed to the king and his heires the kingdome of Ireland according to the tenor of the Irish Bishoppes Charters. All which Baronius recyteth out of Roger; the king remayned in Ireland from the feast of saint Martin vntill the beeginning of Lent.

Ireland yeelded to the king of England.

A Counsell in Ireland.

The Pope confirmeth the kinges tytle.

AN. DOM. 1172.

Heere ensueth the yeere of our Lord 1172. with the fifte indiction. When the Legates of Pope Alexander sent the last yeere to king Henry the father, concerning the murder of that most holy man Thomas Archbishop of Chanterbury, came into Normandy: whom

Legates sent to the king of England.

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the king returning lately from Ireland into England, and thence ſayling into Normandy, receaued, and performed what beeſeemed a true penitent king and a moſt pious Chriſtian, obeying in all thinges the cheife Bishoppe of the vniuerſall Church, who by moſt choyſe perſons for ſoe greate a worke, beeing Cardinalls of the ſacred Roman Church, and moſt bleſſed men Theodinus (I meane) preiſt Cardinall of the tytle of ſaint Vitalis called alſo ſaint Veſtine, and Alberinus preiſt Cardinall of the tytle of ſaint Laurẽce in Lucina Chancellor of the holy Roman Church moſt happily finished the whole buſines. Intending therefore to treate heerof, and how theſe matters ſoe paſſing difficult were managed with ſo great facility, God diſpoſing the kinges harte to pennance, firſt of all the tyme wherin it was handled is to bee diſcouered, beeing this very yeere whenas it was accomplished, according as Roger an Author of that age hath in his Chronicles of England exactly declared: In the yeere one thouſand, one hundred, ſeauenty two, was all this buſines concluded after the kinges returne out of Ireland, beeing the tyme when hee receaued the ſame into his ſubiection (as in the former yeere out of the ſayde Author is rehearſed.) As touchinge the paſſage of matters betweene the Legates and the king, beeing firſt intangled with difficultyes, and after by the inſpiration of the holy Ghoſte abſolutely ended according to the Legates deſire, there is a relation lefte in wryting among the Epiſtles of ſaint Thomas and Pope Alexander, ſett downe in the often recyted booke of the Vatican, in theſe wordes.

The relation of the proceedinges with the kinge.

[The king and the Legates firſt mett at Gorna on wedneſday before the Rogation, and there mutually were receaued in the kiſſe of peace. On the morrowe they came to Sauiniacke where the Archbishop of Roane

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Roane with all the Bishoppes and Nobility assembled: And after long debate for conclusion of peace, beecause the king absolutely denyed to sweare to their Mandate, hee departed with indignation from them, vsing these wordes: I will returne into Ireland, where I haue many weyghty occasions, (to bee dispatched as hee meant) for your partes take on your iourney in peace at your pleasures throughout my land, and performe your Legation according as yee are commãded; where with hee departed. Then the Cardinalls hauing more aduisedly consulted, called backe the Bishoppe of Lizieux, Iohn of Poytiers and the Bishoppe of Salisbury by whose endeauors it was agreede that on Fryday following the king and Cardinalls should meete againe at Abrincke, where was a finall conclusion made betwene them, soe as the king very mildely vnder went and performed whatsomeuer the Cardinalls on their partes proposed to him. But in regarde the father would haue his sonne there present, that whatsomeuer the father promised, the sonne should also make good, the determination of the busines was deferred vntill the next Sunday following, beeing the Sunday beefore our Lordes Ascention. Then in an open Audience, the King laying his hand vpon the Euangelists made oathe; that neither by his commandement, nor his will, the Archbishoppe of Canterbury was killed, and that hearing of his death hee rather sorrowed then reioyced. Hee added moreouer on his free will, that hee neuer so much greeued for the death of his father or mother as for his: and lastly sware, that what pennance or satisfaction someuer the Cardinalles would enioyne him, hee would amply fullfill. *The kinges oathe.*

Hee sayde beesides, before that great assembly: that hee was not ignorant, hee was the cause of the Arch-

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Bishoppes death, and that whatſoeuer was donne, was donne for his ſake; not that hee commanded it but that his freindes and familiars ſeeing the diſturbance of his countenance and lookes, vnderſtanding likewiſe the greife of his harte, and hearing often his words breaking into complayntes againſt the Archbishoppe, prepared to reuenge his iniury, without euer acquainting him therwith. And therfore hee profeſſed hee was moſt ready with all humility and deuotion to accomplishe whatſomeuer the Legates should command.

Then the Legates declared to him: that hee should maintayne vpon his coſte 200. knightes for a whole yeere, giuing euery knighte 300. crownes, in the land of Ieruſalem againſt the Paganes, in ſuch ſorte as the Templars should diſpoſe.

The conditions of the kings abſolution.

Secundly, hee should abſolutely diſannull the wicked ſtatutes of Claringtonne (beeing the place where they were enacted) with all other ill cuſtomes, which were in his raigne intruded on Gods Church: and if there were any vnlawfull ordinances beefore histyme, hee should according to our Lord the Popes Mandate, and by the Counſell of Religious men mitigate them.

Thirdly, that hee should reſtore to the Church of Canterbury all her whole and entire right in landes and other thinges, as fully as it was the yeere beefore the Archbishoppe incurred the kinges diſpleaſure, and hee should amply render his peace and loue, with all their poſſeſſions to all thoſe with whom hee was offended for the Archbishoppes ſake.

Fourthly, that if neede required, and our Lord the Pope commanded him, hee should goe into Spaine, to deliuer that land from the Infidells. They inioyned him alſo ſecretly, faſtes, and almes, and other thinges not publickly knowne.

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To all these the king with singular meekenes gaue his assent, soe as hee sayde in the hearing of all. *Beehoulde (my Lordes and Legates) my body is wholly in your handes; and bee assured whatsomeuer yee command, bee it either my going to Ierusalem, or to Rome, or to saint Iames, or whatsoeuer it bee, I am resolued to obey.* In soe much as scarce any there present, seeing his humility and deuotion, could abstayne from teares.

These thinges ended, that nothing might bee wanting for the full accomplishment of his good, the Legates did leade the king, yeelding therunto of his owne accorde, out of the dores of the Church, where, vpon his knees, without laying asyde his garmentes, and without any showe of disciplining roddes, hee was absolued, and soe againe brought into the Church. And that some of the kingdome of Frãce might knowe their proceedinges heerin, they appointed that the Archbishoppe of Towers with his Suffraganes should personally attẽd on him at Cane on the nexte Wednesday after our Lordes Ascension. What the king did sweare, the king his sonne cõfirmed with his hãd in the hãd of my Lord Albert the Cardinall, that hee for his owne parte would obserue; ãd if the king preuẽted with death or other casuall meanes could not performe his pennance, that hee himselfe would doe it.] Hetherto this relation: Wherunto accordeth the Cardinalls letter concerning this matter, and beeginning in these wordes. *That thinges now handled may not bee called in question &c.* Heerunto was added, That on the nexte feast of our Lordes Natiuity, hee should vndertake the Crosse, and for three yeeres make warre in the *holy land*, vnles Pope Alexander or his lawfull successor thought it vnfitting: Now for the Oathe it selfe made by the king and his sonne in the hands of the Legates, it is reserued intirely among the actes of Pope

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Alexander in theſe very wordes.

I King Henry doe heere take myne oathe vpon theſe holy Euangeliſtes of our Lord God, That I neither thought of, nor knewe, nor euer commanded the murder of Thomas Archbishoppe of Canterbury. And when I vnderſtood the ſame to bee committed, I more greeued therefore, then if I had heard of the ſlaughter of myne owne ſonne. But heerein I am not able to excuſe my ſelfe, that vpon occaſion of my turbulency and wrath which I conceaued againſt that holy man, hee was killed. In regarde whereof, for this offence, beeing as it ſeemeth the cauſe of his death, I will out of hand ſend to Ieruſalem vpon myne owne charges 200. ſouldiers to ſerue there for one whole yeere in defence of Chriſtianity, or giue ſoe much money as may there maintaine ſoe many ſouldiers for a Twelue moneth. I will alſoe vndertake, till three yeeres bee expired the ſigne of our Lordes Croſſe, and in myne owne perſon goe thither vnleſſe the Pope licence mee to ſtay. I doe abſolutely abrogate all thoſe vnlawfull cuſtomes, which I haue in my raigne ordayned thorough out my land, and from this tyme forward decree, that they bee neuer obſerued. I will likewiſe heereafter ſuffer all Appeales to bee freely made to the Apoſtolike Sea, and heerein I will not prohibite any man.

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Theſe and other the like are rehearſed out of Roger, ſaying: all theſe matters, ſoe handled about our Lords Aſcention, were recyted in the Councell of the whole Prouince, which was helde in the moneth of September, where the Legates and both the kinges the father and ſonne mett togeather with the Bishoppes. For thus hee wryteth,

Actes iterated in the Prouinciall Councell.

[Henry king of England and king Henry his ſonne, Rotrude Archbishop of Roane with all the Bishoppes and Abbottes of Normandy aſſembled together at the Citty of Abrycke in the preſence of the Cardinalles Theodine and Albert, in whoſe hearing the king of England the father on the fifte Kalends of October beeing Wedneſday and the feaſt of Saintes Coſmus and Damianus Martyrs, in the Church of Saint Andrew the Apoſtle, declared his innocency before the aboue named Cardinalls, Clergy, and people, by taking his oathe on the Reliques of Saintes and only Euangeliſtes, that hee neyther commanded nor wished the Archbishoppe of Canterburys death &c. As before: Adding thereunto the publicke inſtrument made then to that purpoſe, beeginning with theſe wordes: And that theſe may bee euer retayned in the memory of the Roman Church, the king the father cauſed his ſeale together with the recyted Cardinalls ſeales to bee ſet to the wryting, wherin the Artycles aforeſayde were contayned, beeginning in this forme.

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To Henry by the grace of God the renowned kinge of England, Albert of the tytle of ſaint Laurence in Lucina and Theodine of the tytle of ſaint Vitalis Preiſtes Cardinalles and Legates of the Sea Apoſtolicke, health in him who giueth health to kinges.

These Actes published in wryting.

To the end that thinges donne may neuer bee after queſtioned, it is accuſtomed, and the conſideration of the publicke vtility requyreth, that they should bee recorded; wherupon wee thought it conuenient to drawe the Mandate into wryting, which wee doe eſpecially for your ſake, in regarde you feare malefactors, who murdered Thomas of holy memory, late Archbishoppe of Canterbury, proceeded to the execution of that vnlawfull acte vpon occaſion of your anger and diſtemperature. In which action neuertheles you haue of your owne accord in our preſence made your purgation, that you neither commanded nor wished him to bee killed, and when you heard the reporte therof, you exceedingly ſorrowed. Wherfore from this inſtant feaſt of Pentecoſte to the end of one whole yeere, you shall giue ſoe much mony, as by the iudgment of the Templar Knightes, will maintayne 200. ſouldiers twelue monethes far defence of the holy land.

Touching your ſelfe, you shall from Chriſtmas next three yeeres are fully accomplished, take the Croſſe, and in proper perſon vndertake your iourney thitherwarde by Gods conduction the next ſummer, vnles you ſtay by appointment of our Lord the Pope or his Catholicke ſucceſſor.

But if vpon vrgent neceſsity you make warre againſt

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the Saracens in Spayne, for the tyme you vndergoe that voyage, soe long you may deferre your iourney to Ierusalem. You shall not hinder Appeales nor suffer them to bee hindred, but that they may bee freely made in Eccleſiaſticall cauſes vnto the Pope of Rome in good fayth, without fraude or any ill intent, that cauſes may bee handled by his Holines, and obtayne their effectes; yet soe neuertheles as if you shall haue ſuſpicion of any, they shall giue you ſecurity, that they shall not endeauor to iniure your ſelfe or your kingdome. You shall abſolutely diſanull the cuſtumes brought in during your tyme the Churches of your land. Concerning the poſſeſſions of the Church of Canterbury, if any haue bin taken away, you shall reſtore them to that fullnes, wherin shee enioyed them a yeere beefore the Archbishop departed England. Moreouer you shall reſtore to the Clergie, and Layetie of both ſexes, peace and your gracious fauour, with all the poſſeſſions which they loſt for the Archbishoppes ſake. All this by the authority of our Lord the Pope wee inioyne you for remiſſion of your ſinnes, and command you to obſerue the ſame without fraude or deceypte. This haue you ſworne in a great Audience with reuerence to the diuine Maieſty. Your ſonne hath likewiſe ſworne the ſame, excepting only what in particular concerned your ſelfe: and yee haue both ſworne not to leaue Pope Alexander and his Catholike Succeſſors ſo long as they shall vſe yee as they haue vſed your Predeceſſors, and other Catholicke kinges. And that this may bee firmly recorded in the Roman Church, yee haue commanded this ſame to bee confirmed with your ſeales.

Afterwards the ſame Roger addeth the Epiſtle of the Legates written at that tyme to the Bishop of Reuenna declaring matters then handled in theſe wordes.

To the Reuerent in Chriſt and our beeloued brother Gilbert by the grace of God Archbishop of Rauenna, Albert by the diuine goodnes of the title of ſaint Laurence in Lucina and Theodine of the title of ſaint Vitall Preiſtes Cardinalles and Legates of the Apoſtolike Sea, what God hath promiſed to ſuch as loue him.

In regarde wee ſuppoſe you are deſirous to heare of our ſtate, and the good ſucceſſe of the buſines commended to our charge, wee thought conuenient to ſignify to your brotherhood by theſe letters how God hath at this tyme dealte with vs, and wrought by the miniſtery of our vnworthines. Bee yee therfore certifyed, that after the renowned king of England knewe by certayne relation that wee were come within his Dominion, ſetting aſyde all obſtacles of delay, hee preſently returned from Ireland into England, lettinge paſſe the buſineſſes which then imported him, and from England arriued on the coaſte of Normandy, ſending inſtantly ſundry Meſſingers and honorable perſonages from vs to vnderſtand at what place wee thought moſt conuenientlye to meete him and treate of theſe affaires. It pleaſed vs at length to meete at the Monaſtery of Sauyne, that wee might there confer, where wee ſhould bee aſſiſted by the prayers of the Religious. Wee mett there together, and there mett with vs many perſons of eyther orden of his kingdome, and wee treated as dilligently as wee could of what appertayned to the good of him, and the charge impoſed on vs. But not aggreeing in all pointes, hee departed from vs, pretending to paſſe into England, wee expected, intending the next day to goe to the Citty of Abryncke. On

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the morrowe, came to vs the Bishoppe of Lizieux, with two Archdeacons, and condescending to our requeste wee passed on to the sayde Citty; whether on the Sunday in which is sung vocem iucunditatis wee assembled with very many persons and they also with vs: and with soe much humility hee accomplished what was promised, as without all doubt wee may beeleeue it was his worke, who looketh on the earth and maketh it tremble. Truly to declare how much hee endeauored to humble himselfe to God, and shewe his obedience to the Church, it is not a matter in these few lynes to bee vttered, his deedes doe sufficiently manifest it, and heereafter will manifest it more fully, as wee assuredly hope it will appeare.

First therfore not vpon any constrainte or requeste of ours, but of his owne free will, hee cleered his conscience by an oathe vpon the holy Euangelistes concerning the death of Thomas of blessed memory late Archbishoppe of Canterbury, swearing that hee neither commanded nor wished that the Archbishop should bee killed, and vpon the reporte therof, hee was exceedingly greiued. Yet beecause the murder was committed, and hee feared hee gaue occasion therof, for making satisfaction, hee tooke this oathe. First hee swore hee would neuer leaue our Lord Pope Alexander and his Catholicke successors, so long as they vsed him like a Catholicke and Christian king, and this also hee caused his sonne and heire to sweare in the Charter of absolution for the death of blessed Thomas. Hee swore likewise other thinges very necessary for the Clergie and Layety all which in order, according as hee swore them, wee dilligently recorded in the Charter of his absolution. Other matters hee likewise promised of his owne accord not conuenient to bee deliuered in wryting. But this wee haue written, that you may see his obedience to Allmighty God, and how hee is farre more incouraged then hitherto hee hath bin, to the seruice of his Sauiour.

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Knowe beeſides that his ſonne concerning the vnlawfull cuſtomes hath made oathe ioyntly with him. Moreouer what was there donne hee reſolued to iterate againe at Cane more publickely in a greater aſſembly of people, to the end there might neuer bee queſtion made to the contrary. Laſtly hee releaſed the Biſhoppes of the promiſe they gaue for obſeruing the cuſtomes, and promiſed himſelfe neuer heereafter to exacte them. Thus far the Legates Epiſtle: then proceedeth the Author.

The Counſell in Normandy.

On the morrowe the aforeſayde Cardinalls celebrated there a great Counſell together with the Archbishop, Bishoppes and Clergie of Normandy, and there concluded and ioyned all firmly and inuiolably to obſerue theſe decrees following.

The Decrees published at Abryncke by Theodine and Albert Cardinalles.

FIrſt, that no children ſhall bee admitted to the gouerment of thoſe Churches and the adminiſtration of them whereunto appertaineth the Cure of ſoules.

Item the children of Preiſtes ſhall not bee placed in their fathers Churches.

Item Laie men ſhall haue no parte of the oblations of the Church.

Item Churches ſhall not bee committed to annuall Vicars.

Item Preiſtes of great Churches who haue liuinges ſufficient therfore, ſhall bee enforced to maintaine vnder them each one another preiſt.

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Item no Preistes shall bee ordayned without a certaine title.

Item let no Church bee farmed at on annuall rent.

Item let nothing of the third parte of the tythes bee taken from him who serueth the Church.

Item let such as haue Tythes by inheritance bee lycenced to giue them at theyr pleasures to any beeing meete and able Clearkes, vpon condicio that after the, the Thythes ruturne to the Churches to which by law they beelong.

Let not any man enter into Religion, whilst his wife remaineth in the world, nor on the contrary syde, vnles they both exceede the age of abilitie for vse of mariage.

Item in the Aduent of our Lord let all who can, but especially Clearkes and souldiers, fast, and bee commanded to abstaine from flesh.

Item let not Clearkes bee appointed iudges especially to administer the iurisdiction of Secular powers, and who presume to doe the contrary, let them bee excluded from theyr Ecclesiasticall Benefyces.

Item concerning the new bookes of the Excommunicated, and the goodes of the dying which preistes take, with the blessinges of the

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eſpouſed ād Baptiſme, and xvliii. exacted for the Abſolution of the Excommunicated, nothing was perfected, beecauſe the Bishoppes of Normādy would not receaue the Decree.

In the ſame Counſell the Archbishop of Thomas challenged the Archbishoppricke of Dole to beelong of right to his Archbishoppricke, affirming no Archbishoppes ſeate ought to bee there; but the Clearckes of Dole did conſtantly contradict it. Hetherto concerninge matters handled there by the Legates; who, beefore they departed, receaued theſe letters from Pope Alexander for reconciliation of the Church of Canterbury beeing polluted with ſoe enormyous a ſacriledge.

The reconciliation of the Church of Cāterbury.

[Wee command yee that yee cauſe the Church of Chanterbury to bee reconciled, yet in that ſorte as the ſacrament of the former Dedication bee not againe reiterated; but as it hath bin accuſtomed in the Church of ſaint Peeter, let it only bee ſprinckled with holy water.] Thus Pope Alexander to his Legates. And the Legates againe to the Clergie of the Church of Canterbury wrote in theſe wordes.

[Wee reioyce, yea the whole congregation of the iuſt which heareth therof reioyced, that God doth manifeſt the death of Thomas of holy memory ſometimes your Archbishoppe to bee ſoe pretious in his ſight, and hath made famous with ſoe many miracles the venerable memoriall of him, as the ſweetenes of his oyntmentes hath now diſperſed it ſelfe allmoſt ouer the whole body of his Church, and his vertue is generally renowned from the Eaſte to the Weſte; ſoe as they, who whilſt hee liued inuyed his proſperous ſucceſſes, now hee beeing disburdened of this world, and trans-

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lated as wee beeleeue (his fayth and preistly zeale deseruing the same) to the society of the higher powers, reuerence his vertue, giuing due thankes to him, whoe worketh only great miracles. Beecause therfore it seemeth conuenient that the glorious miracles, which multitudes of people reporte to bee done among yee, may resound with thākes-giuings and voyces of prayse in your publicke Church which the diuine grace hath endowed with so bountifull a guyfte: It ought no longer vpon occasion of this execrable acte forbeare to glorify the Creator: Returning therfore to you mutuall' salutations and willingly consenting to your deuoute petition, wee command your Brother hoode, that assembling together the Bisoppes and Abbotes of your Prouince whom yee shall deeme meete for this purpose, yee doe according to the rule of the Ecclesiasticall solemnity accustomed among our Predecessors, consecrate againe your Church. And if any thing bee wanting in the solemnity, it may bee supplyed with the illustrous glory of the diuine miracles. As touching vs, if there bee ought in our power which wee are able to doe for the good of your selues and your Church, what by Gods grace wee may, we will most readily performe.]

Thus wrote the Legates of the Apostolike Sea, who admonished therof by Pope Alexander, made dilligent inquiry of the miracles of the most glorious Martyr Thomas, and send a most exact relation of them all to his Holines, which beeing throughly vnderstood, hee without delay wholly bent himselfe to perfect the Martyrs solemne Canonization, This hee wittnesseth in his letters afterwardes indighted and to bee recyted when wee speake of his Canonization.

So therfor by how many miracles, by soe many diuine testimonyes it is knowne and made apparant by

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witneſſes, that not only they, who for defence of the Catholike fayth ſuffer death, but ſuch alſo as for conſeruation of the lawes, rightes, and poſſeſſions of the Church, offer themſelues to the ſlaughter doe a worke moſt acceptable in the ſight of God and deſeruing crownes; which occaſion of induring Martyrdome is not to bee ſought a far of from Infidells, but is allwayes ready at hand to euery Bishop, if hee laboreth in all reſpectes to performe the duty of his charge. Now the Legates returning backe brought to the Citty the holy reliques of the late Martyr beeing *the Braines of his head*, that were diſperſed on the pauement of the Church, and alſo his coate imbrewed in his blood, which are to this day religiously kepte in the Church of ſaint Mary Maior.

Euery Bishop may haue occaſion of Martyrdome.

Famous mē of the family of S. Thomas.

Thus hauing ſeene what appertayneth to the glory of the Martyr, wee are not to let paſſe in ſilence his fellow ſouldiers who followed him banished in his ſeauen yeeres exile, beeing all famous and renowned men, much honored for their glorious confeſſion; whoſe excellent prayſes are ſeuerally ſett forth in the booke of the Vatican after Quadrilogus; where amōge them is firſt and principally one by name and nation Lumbard of the country of Placentia an excellent ſcholler, who was created Cardinall of the ſacred Roman Church beeing called from exile, and laſtly made by the ſame Pope Archbishop of Beneuent. Next is Iohn of Salisbury a man of mauellous learning, and rayſed after the Martyrdome of ſaint Thomas to the Bishoppricke of Charters. Then Robert an Englishman created Bishop of Hereford. After him Reynold alſo of England ſurnamed Lumbard preferred to the Bishoppricke of Bathe, whom wee ſuppoſe to bee corruptly inferted, for wee finde him not any where in the Catalogue of the Saintes familiar frindes who

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followed him in his persecution, for whom, beeing rather numbred among his enemyes, Peter of Bloyes wrote an Apologie, which shall after appeare. Geralde insueth, who was promoted to the Bishoppricke of Couentry; and Huhge by nation à Roman who succeeded Geralde in his Bishoppricke. Moreouer Gilbertus Angelus afterwardes Bishoppe of Rochester. And likewise Rafe made in his exile Deane of Rhemes. Lastly after others who were honored with Ecclesiasticall dignityes, is Hubert of Millane first instauled in the Archbishoppricke of that Church, and after called to the high Pontificall authority of the Church of Rome by the name of Vrban the third. Others are in like sorte remembred as worthy of soe greate a father and Master, who, as they were partakers of his passion, soe were they of his glory. Such was the family of this most famous man, not seruing him to please the eye, but endowed with like constancy as their Master in suffering laborious afflictions, truly Apostolicall men gloriously shyning with Apostolicall forces, and therfore reputed worthie to bee promoted beefore others in Ecclesiasticall honors.

Pope Alexander beeing refused by the Romans, and lying at Tusculan, sent from thence these letters to the Archbishoppe of Biturees and the Bishop of Nyuers vpon occasion of the excommunication denounced by saint Thomas against the afore recyted Bishoppes of England.

Alexander, Bishoppe, seruant of the seruantes of God, to his reuerent brethren the Archbishop of Biturees and the Bishop of Niuers sendeth greeting with Apostolicall benediction.

Wee suppose it is not vnknowne to your brotherhood,

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The Popes letter for absolution of two English Bishops.

how Thomas of holy memory late Archbishopp of Canterbury vpon our commandement denounced the sentence of excommunication against the Bishoppes of London and Salisbury; the which wee ratifying and confirming corroborated the same with our Apostolicall authority: Now beecause the sayde Bishoppes, beeing both aged and one of them sicke, cannot trauell to our presence, wee haue thought good to commend to yee, of whose wisedome and honesty wee are confident, theyr absolution, for which the Messingers of Henry king of England, with the Messingers also of the same Bishoppes haue bin earnest sutors. Wherfore by our Apostolicall letters wee command your brotherhoode, that if within one moneth after the beares heereof returne home, yee heare not our Legates haue passed the Apes, which Legates wee haue determined to send to those partes, as well to vnderstand the depth of that heynous offence lately committed, as also for the kinge, absolue them from the bandes of excommunication, taking first, according to the manner of the Church, an oathe of them to obey our Mandate; the sentence of Suspension, giuen vpon the same cause for which they were lastly excommunicated, remayning neuertheles still in the former vigor. And if it appeareth vnto yee that the Bishop of Salisbury by reason of his sicknes cannot trauell to yee, then (which will please vs right well) that yee will personally goe vnto him; or if yee cannot goe, then that yee will send ouer some sufficient men, whom wee and yee may confidently trust, who taking first an oathe of him publickly in the face of the Church to obey our Mandate, may thereupon absolue him. But if you brother Archbishoppe cannot personally execute this, then doe you brother Bishopse taking with you the Abbot of Pontianacke, carefully performe it according to these our directions. Dated at Tusculan 8. Kalend. Maij. Hetherto Pope Alexander as it is rehearsed in Rogeres Chronicle.

Now

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Now amydd all this, these sacrilegious murderers of the Martyr, who hetherto remayned in the furthest parte of England, on the landes beelonging to one of them, when they sawe all men flye their company, yea and that the very vnreasonable creatures eschewed them as accursed, for dogges (albeeit hungry) abhorred to eate the bread they gaue them, as taynted with the poyson of excommunication, and aboue all, their owne consciences guylty of this greate sinne inforcing them principally to detest themselues, calling on the Saint whom they slaughtered, they sought mercy at his handes to whom themselues had bin most vnmercifull and cruell. Wherfore amyd their showers of teares and clowdes of sorrowe, there shyned out to them a beame of hope for obtayning pardon, and one onely way appeared, beeing this, to trauell vnto Rome to Pope Alexander Christes Vicar, and falling downe at his feete, and opening the enormity of their offence, to receaue from him the medicyne hee would apply to them. They came to Rome, and fled to that Pastor, whom, hee from whom hee receaued that supreme power, had taught not to kill and spoyle, but cary on his shoulders the lost sheepe: where that renowned Pastor byndeth vp what is broken, strengtheneth what is infirme, seeketh out what is lost, and recouereth what is cast away; this wise Archsurgeon pouring oyle and wyne into the deepe hartes of the wounded soe waked them vp, as hee deliuereth them from all euills that may happen. They are therfore inioyned for remission of this intollerable sacriledge, to trauell beeyõd the seas to the regions which were glorifyed with out Sauiours presence, euen to those places, that, where Christ wrought our saluation in the middest of the earth by shedding his blood for the redemption of mankinde, they who had most wickedly shed the

The Murderers of S. Thomas flye to the Pope for their remedy

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most innocent bloode, might there bee purged with the bloode of his passion.

Their death who killed S. Thomas.

In their iourney, one of them, and hee the cheefest who encouraged the rest, and first wounded the most holy man, whose name was *William Tracy*, comming into Calabria and remayning a while at Consentia, beeing there taken with a greeuous infirmity of his body, was compelled to stay, the other three goeing on as they were inioyned. Soe truly for an example of the iustice of Allmighty God hee could passe no farther then Italy, that the Westerne world might bee admonished, and none should heereafter dare for feare of soe seuere a punishment to lay rash and violent handes on our lordes annoynted: For God stroke him with soe terrible a sickenes, as his flesh rotting, and his very synewes and bones appearing, the same beeing dissolued from the ioyntes, eyther of it selfe fell away, or was haled of with his handes, beeing impatient of his greife, and his owne executioner, yet euer vntill the very last gaspe imploring the assistance of saint Thomas, whom himselfe had martyred. All which beeing published to the Christian world by the Bishops of Consentia, is affirmed in the end of the often recyted history of Quadrilogus, wherunto all other wryters, who reporte the life of saint Thomas agree. And that not only hee who dyed at Consentia but also the other three who sayled to Ierusalem liued not aboue three yeeres after they had martyred the Saint, is constantly alleaged in the aforementioned history; soe as they exceeded not the limitts of the nexte yeere following. For they beeing vpon the Popes commandement restrayned in a place called the Black-Mountaine, a pryson of pennance, did there as penitents finish their dayes, and were graced with a seemely buryall beefore the dore of the Temple with this inscription (as

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Roger sayth) ouer them. *Heere lye the wreched men who martyred blessed Thomas Archbishoppe of Canterbury.* Soe let this bee the period of this yeeres history.

AN. DOM. 1173.

Next followeth the yeere 1173. with the sixt Indiction. Whenas Pope Alexander vpon returne of the Legates, late sent to the king of England, hearing of them what miracles were wrought by God with a mighty hande and a high arme in Thomas the new Martyr, and therupon taking aduice with his brethren the Cardinalls of the sacred Roman Church, by the generall consent of them all, Cannonized him among the number of the holy Martyrs. Treating therfore heereof, let vs first make dilligent search of precedent matters. *The Cannonization of S. Thomas.*

After this bloode soe shed (sayth Edward) God by many miracles published his sanctity, but at the first they lay concealed, as not purchaceing creditte, till by the multitude of them the impiety of his aduersarys was vanquished, and the mouthes of the wicked stopped: for so far truly the number and greatnes of his miracles grewe manifest, as in their open showe, saint Thomas seemed not only nothing inferior to other renowned Saintes, but also excelled them: as wittnesseth Peeter of Bloyes an eye witnes, and Iohn of Salisbury sometimes the holy Martyrs secretary: for Peeter with greate confidence wryteth thus to Richard Bishop of Siracusa, saying: [Reioice England, and let the Westerne worlk tryumph, beecause the East hath visited vs from high: India and the Easterne regions gloryed in Thomas the Apostle; But hee hath respect to the Wersterne Church who dwelleth in heauen and looketh downe on the humble; God hath bee-

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ſtowed on England our Thomas; wee enuy not India for their Thomas; let Thomas the Apoſtle poſſeſſe India, Let Thomas our Martyr inhabite Englād, that by theſe two witneſſes of Chriſte euen frō the ryſing of the ſun to the ſetting therof the name of our Lord may bee prayſed. Some there are who trauell into India to gayne the ſuffrages of the bleſſed Apoſtle; ſo lōg a pilgrimage is to paynfull for mee, my Thomas ſufficeth me. Hee touched our lordes ſyde, ād the piercinges of the nayles, and beecauſe hee ſaw, beelieued: Bleſſed is hee who not ſeeing, beelieued, nor euer doubted, but offered himſelfe to Chriſt and for Chriſt a ſacrifice. I labor not to compare a Martyr with an Apoſtle, an Apoſtle euer excelling a Martyr; but it is glorious for vs to enioy a Martyr, who bearing the name of an Apoſtle, imitateth, or rather exceedeth an Apoſtle in miracles. The Apoſtle is not offended, beecauſe our Lord himſelfe is not offended with Apoſtles and Martyrs, if at any tyme the holy Ghoſt poureth out himſelfe more fully often on any in the operation of vertues: and ſayth our Lord, you ſhall doe theſe, and greater then theſe.] Thus Peeter recyted by vs to declare the famous miracles ſo wrought, which God in his new Saint then shewed. But let vs heare Iohn of Salisbury ſomewhat moued againſt Pope Alexander, as ſeeming too ſlowe in the Canonizatiō of the Martyr; ſince God abundantly published (as it appeared) by ſoe great and ſoe many miracles, that hee had receaued him into heauen among the number of his Martyrs. Yet the Pope was to bee excuſed if hee deferred the ſame vntill the returne of the Cardinalls his Legates, by whoſe relation hee might exactly and ſecurely vnderſtand all. Neuertheles let vs ſee Salisburys complaynt poured out with greate aſſurance to the Legate of the Apoſtolike Sea.

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To his reuerent Lord and moſt deere father William by the grace of God Archbishop of Senon, Legate of the Apoſtolicall Sea, Iohn of Salisbury ſendeth greeting with the obedience of his moſt ready deuotion.

Allthough a huge deſolation hath confounded hetherto the English Church, her ſorrowe neuerthles hath now for the moſt parte bin altered into ioy, and her lamentation chaunged with a bleſſed and pleaſing tranſmutation into Canticles: for miracles ſoe ſeldome heard of are at our Martyrs memoriall ſoe often showed, as others otherwhere heard of can hardly bee compared to his: for as in euery thing his noble mynd euer endeauored to excell all who liued in his age; ſoe now (that I may ſpeake it by the leaue of other Saintes) hee exceedeth others of whom wee haue read or hearde of in miraculous operations, which I am eaſily perſwaded are therfore effected, that God may ſtyrre vp in many of theſe in our partes of the world, ſayth, not layde aſleepe but allmoſt extinguiſhed, that hee might more ſoundy confirme charitie, and ſtoppe the mouthes of the wicked who detracted the holy man in his life, and for priuate hatred perſecuted the cauſe of Chriſt. For who can now miſdoubt the Chriſtian doctrine to bee otherwiſe then true and faythfull, ſince hee rewardeth with ſoe greate felicity a man knowne to vs, and conſtant to him? Who, vnles misled by the diuell, will ſay the cauſe was vniuſt, the Patron whereof God hath crowned with ſoe great a glory? Many haue queſtiond whether our Lord the Popes tytle, for which wee contend, bee grounded on iuſtice, but this glorious Martyr hath cleered it from any ſuſpition of ſcyſme, becauſe had hee bin a ſupporter of ſcyſme, hee

Iohn of Salisburys Epiſtle of the miracles wrought by S. Thomas.

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could neuer haue shined with ſo great miracles. Moreouer hee was a man of that excellent wiſedome, as hee could not eaſily bee ſupplanted with error in a matter ſoe neere concerning his ſoule.

I should aſſuredly very much maruayle why our Lord the Pope hath not allready commanded him to bee numbred in the Catalogue of Martyrs, but that I remember I haue read in the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, that when Pylate ſending a relation of proceedinges asked aduiſe of Tyberius Ceſar, if Chriſt who had don ſoe many and ſo greate miracles, and was of very many worshipped as God, ought to bee honored as God, the Senate beeing asked by the Emperor their opinion, anſwered, hee was verely to bee reuerenced as God, but that diuers of ſundry Prouinces had allready without the Senates authority preſumed to doe it: which was truly by the diuine prouidence ſoe anſwered, that the Deity of Chriſt, whoſe name was to bee preached to the Iewes and Gentilles, should not ſeeme to bee ſubiect to any earthly power, neither the Gentills vaunt it was obtayned by petition, which againſt their willes they were compelled to heare. Beecauſe our Lord hath raigned, let the people bee angry, and the earth reioyſe wherin Chriſtes Church is founded. And ſoe verely I thinke it was the diuine will that this Martyrs glory should neither by Pōtificall decree nor royall authority bee aduanced, but bee eſtabliſhed by the power of Chriſt, whoſe honour during his life hee labored to enlarge: for hee euer deliuered himſelfe, that hee would haue Chriſt's honor ſtill preſerued, when hee treated with the king concerning hispeace. And shall not Chriſt againe doe the ſame for him? God forbid that truth should not fullfill her promiſes. Wee reade in the Actes of Apoſtells: They receaued the holy Ghoſt: And shall the Councell of Apoſtells any way contradicte the ſame? Vndoubtedly where God is the Author, in vaine is required the authority of a Superiour. If

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any desireth to eclipse the glory of this soe great Martyr, whosoeuer hee bee, beefore wee beelieue him, let him worke greater, or at the least the like Miracles, otherwise hee may bee supposed to sinne against the holy Ghoste, whose workes hee feareth not to detracte.] Thus Iohn of Salisbury to Senon Legate of the Apostolike Sea, beefore Alexander had cannonized S. Thomas among the number of the holy Martyrs, which this very yeere hee did.

Soe hee, who greeuing that the Cannonization of the Martyr was delayed, which God by soe many and soe greate beames of Miracles shyning from heauen had now, shewed to bee diuinely established from aboue, did not thinke it needefull to bee supported with humane authority, according to that of the Apostle? *Who shall accuse against the Elect of God? God it is who iustifyeth, who shall then condemne?* Yet neuertheleſſe the authority of the Church is necessary to bee required for learning the certainty of the miracles, least any deceytes or impostures by stealth surprise vs. So the determination of diuine workes ought to bee gouerned by the Churches censure, according to the same Apostels saying: *The spirits of the Prophets are subiect to the Prophets;* And that of saint Iohn: *Proue the spirites if they are of God.* Which iudgment of the Church resteth principally in her visible head, whose sentence is first to bee expected in such an examination.

The Churches necessary ministery in probation of Saintes.

Wherfore, as hath bin sayde, vpon returne of the Legates, after due consideration and examination had of marters related by them, this very yeere in the sixt Indiction, Pope Alexãder beeing at Signia, with rightes of solemnityes cannonized the holy Martyr sainct Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury; of which cannonization the written bocke of the Vatican rehear-

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ſeth in the life of Alexander theſe wordes. [Meane while, when moſt bleſſed Thomas, the glory of the English, shyned in the brightnes of miracles, and not only his freindes, but alſo his perſecutors beeſought pardõne of their ſinnes, who ſeekinge theſe meanes of ſaluation continually flocked to his Church; the Pope of Rome at the inſtance of the people and Clergy of England, by Apoſtolicall authority cannonized the ſame Martyr, and commanded him to bee numbred among the Saintes; for on the day of the Purification of our Bleſſed Lady, aſſembling together at Signia the Bishoppes and Abbottes of Campania, hee celebrated a ſolemne Maſſe eſpecially to his honor, and ordayned that the memory of his paſſion should bee for euer kepte 4. Kalend. Ianuarij. Wherupon the Church of the weſt tryumphed in marueylous greate ioy, and the glorious Martyrs name increaſed in the duplication of his vertues; ſoe far forth, as by forraine nations of renowned hee grewe more renowned; Allmighty God hath apparantly by his merittes rayſed the deade, giuen ſight to the blinde, hearing to the deafe, and to the lame their limmes, hee hath cleanſed Leapers, healed the ſicke, caſt out diuells, with many other rare miracles, which God would haue miraculously wrought by him. Wherupon very many of the faythfull haue for his honour and prayſe to the glory of our Creator buylt Churches; and endowed them with poſſeſſions and guiftes.] Hetherto there. But let vs looke into the Apoſtolicall letters wrytten concerning his cannonization.

S. Thomas Cannonized.

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Alexander Bishop seruant of the seruantes of God to his beeloued children the Prior and Monkes of the Church of Canterbury salutation with Apostolicall benediction.

The Popes letters for the Canonization of S. Thomas.

All Christian people are to reioyse for the miracles of that holy and reuerent man Thomas lately your Archbishoppe; but yee aboue all others ought to bee replenished with soe much the more ample ioy and exultation, by how much the more yee are oftener eye wittnesses of his miracles, and your Church especially deserueth to bee glorifyed with his most holy body. And wee considering the renowne of his merittes, wherby in his life bee was worthily famous, and beeing most certaynly assured of his miracles, not only by the common and publicke reporte, but also by the relation of our wellbeeloued bretbren Albert of the Tytell of saint Laurence in Lucina and Theodine of the tytle of saint Vitalis Preistes Cardinalles and Legates of the Apostolicall Sea, and leke wise of diuers other persons, haue solemnly cannonized the foresayde Archbishop in the beeginning of the fast with a greate assembly of the Clergie and Layety in the Church, hauing first had deliberate counsell therof with our brethren, and haue decreede that hee shall bee numbred in the Catalogue of the holy Martyrs, commanding by the Apostolike authority as well your selues as all the faythfull thorough out Englād, that yee celebrate euery yeere with due reuerence his feast day wherin hee finished his life with a glorious passion. Moreouer beecause it nobly soe deserueth, and is most expedient for yee, that his holy body bee shryned with all deuoute reuerence and honor, wee doe by the Apostolicall authority command your discretion, that assembling together the Clergie and Layety, yee doe vpon a festiuall day with

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a deuoute, religious, and ſolemne proceßion, place his body worthely in ſome Altar, or elſe ſeating it in ſome comely encloſure (as it is beehouefull) yee raiſe it vp on high, and endeauour hereafter with your holy prayers to obtayne of our Lord his patronage for the ſaluation of the faythfull, and peace of the vniuerſall Church. Fare yee well, Dated at Signia 4. Id. Martij. Thus to the Clergie of the Church of Canterbury. There were alſo the ſame day other generall letters written to all Chriſtian people in theſe wordes.

Generall letters for the Canonization of ſaint Thomas.

[England ſweetely ſmeelleth with the fragrant odor and vertue of ſignes which Allmighty God worketh by the merittes of the holy and reuerent man Thomas ſometimes Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury ; and the whole Chriſtian religion of the faythfull euery where reioyceth, beecauſe that hee who is marueylous and glorious in his Saintes, hath after his death renowned his Saint, whoſe laudable life ſhyned with merittes, and laſtly was finiſhed with the Martyrdome of a moſt noble combate. And allthough no man can make doubt of his ſanctity, who conſidereth his prayſeworthy conuerſation, and weygheth his glorious paſſion; Our Redeemer and Sauiour neuertheles would haue the enſignes of his ſanctity ſhyne with magnificent miracles, that hee who with the conſtancy of an inuincible vertue ſuffered for Chriſt tribulations and dangers, may now bee knowne by all to haue receaued in that eternall bleſſednes the tryumph of his labor and combate. And wee truly haueing heard the innumerable and greate miracles which the whole multitude of the faythfull declare to bee dayly wrought by the merittes of that holy man, and moreouer beeing eſpecially certifyed heereof, not without our too greate contentment, by our beeloued brethren Albert of the tytell of ſaint Laurence in Lucina, and Theodine of the

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tytle of saint Vitalis Preistes Cardinalls and Legates of the Apostolike Sea, who more perfectly discouered those miracles, as hauing bin neere the place where they were wrought, and giuing credit as wee ought to the testimony of diuers other persons, haue solemnly in the Church, a great assembly of the Clergie and Layety beeing present, in the beeginning of the Fast with the deliberate aduise of our brethren, cannonized the sayde Bishoppe, and decreede that hee should bee numbred in the Catalogue of Saintes. Wherfore wee admonish all in generall, and by the power that wee enioy streyghtly command yee, that yee celebrate yeerely with solemnity the festiuall day of the foresayde glorious Martyr beeing the day of his passion, and labour by our deuoute prayers vnto him to purchase remission of your sinnes; that hee who for Christ suffered in his life exile, and in his death by vertue of his constant passion, Martyrdome, beeing now dayly sollicited with the suffrages of faythfull, will make intercession to God for vs. Dated at Signia 4. Id. Martij.] There are afterwardes extant in that volume of Epistles, Apostolicall letters sent to the Bishop of Auersane, and letters patents and circular to all Bishoppes of the Catholike Church. And last ly the payne pursueth the sinne.

Gods reuenge vpon the king of England for the death of S. Thomas.

For king Henry the yonger when hee could not obtayne of his father one Citty in England or Normandy for himselfe and his Queene the daughter of the king of France to inhabit in, extremely moued with this denyall, raysed a most vnnaturall and terrible warre against the king his father, wherin not only his wife and all his sonnes together with his nobility, subiectes, seruantes, and bosome freindes conspiring, rebelled; but also the kinges of France and Scotland, the Earles of Flaunders, Poytiers, and others confederating, ioyned

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all their powers againſt him: and was, originally by his owe children, brought into extreme miſeryes and troubles, who had before rayſed an vngodly perſecution againſt ſaint Thomas Archbishoppe of Canterbury his ſpirituall father. Heereupon enſued huge ſlaughters of his people, and hee like an other Dauid terryfyed with the powers of thoſe Abſalom's was enforced to flye for ſuccour to the Pope againſt them, as ſaint Thomas was conſtrayned to appeale to the Pope againſt him. O wonderfull mutability of worldly fortune! or rather, ô meruailous iudgment of Allmighty God! Hee that was wont ſoe victoriously to preuaille againſt all his enemyes, in ſoe much as hee ſayde himſelfe, hee was euery day able to conquer a caſtle, is now plunged in theſe neceſſityes. But Pope Alexander drawing ſaint Peeters ſword excommunicateth without remedy of Appeale, vnles they returne to obediēce, his rebellious wife, ſonnes and ſubiectes, wherin Richard Archbishop of Canterbury, and Rotrode Archbishop of Roane as well by godly diſcreete and perſwaſiue letters, as by thundering out this dreadfull ſentence, laboured to reduce them to naturall and dutifull obedience: but the king of France was in that hyght of diſpleaſure againſt the father, and lincked with ſoe ſtreyght a league confirmed by oath vnto the ſonnes, that earthly hopes on all ſydes vanishing, hee was left for his only refuge to the prayers and patronage of S. Thomas the Martyr, whom hee had beefore afflicted with ſoe many iniuryes.

The Pope aſſiſteth the king of Englād againſt his ſonnes and Aduerſaryes.

ANNO DOMINI 1174.

Wherfore An. Dom. 1174. commending Normandy with all his dominions to the protection of God and his Martyr, hee ſayled ouer into England, and ſetting

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aparte all other important matters, trauelled towardes Canterbury, before the entrance wherof, as soone as hee discouered the Metropolytan Church, wherin the blessed Martyrs body rested, changed from the Maiesty of a king to the showe of a most silly man, with naked feete and naked body, beesides one only contemptible coate vpon his naked skinne, with vnspeakeable deuotiō and humility, like another Dauid on his bare feete in the sight of all the people passed his pilgrimage through the durty wayes and streetes: thus hee whose power was terrible to kingdomes and Nations, now dreading and trembling with deepe sighes and lamentations came most poorely to the Martyrs sepulcher, ond there beestowed a whole day and night in fasting, waching, and prayer; then assembling together the Bishoppes with the sacred Conuent of the Monkes, and submissiuely bowing downe his heade into the Martyrs tombe, God and his Martyr beehoulding it, receaued vpon his naked skinne from euery Bishop fiue, and from all the Religious aboue foure-skore blowes with Disciplines; at the sight whereof all the standers by broke out into abundance of teares: Moreouer the king, as truly penitent for his offence, and to giue full satisfaction to the Martyr, did for the honor and deuotion which hee owed him, abrogate againe all his wicked customes, beeing the causes of this dissention, enacting for the tyme to come iust ordinances. All this beeing thesfore soe deuoutely and humbly accomplished, the king on the morrow as a pilgrimme, after celebration of the Masse of a Martyr before the reliques of this Martyr, returned submissiuely, as hee came, on his naked and durty feete without receauing any sustenance, hauing a singular hope shortly to recouer vnder the patronage of the Martyr redresse of his misfortunes. Neither was it a vayne ex-

The kinges admirable penmance at the shryne of S. Thomas.

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pectation; for beeing with ſuch religious and ſeuere, pennance reconcyled to the martyr, Allmighty God by the Martyrs interceſſion and meritts reſcued him from theſe calamitys; yee a maruaillous thing to tell, as well for the Martyrs renowne, as the kinges effectuall pennance, the ſame day beeing Satturſday, and the ſame hower, when as the Maſſe was ſayd in honor of the Martyr, and (the Saint beeing as it were pacifyed) the king licenced to departe; at the very inſtant of the diuine ſacrifice (as the world doth witthes and the king himſelfe confeſſed) the king of Scottes, one of his greateſt enemyes, armed with a huge hoſte of men, ſtragling a ſyde from his mighty power, was ſurpriſed without wounde or blowe by a fewe ſouldiers of no greate accompt, which yet remayned faythfull to king Henry the father. Neither only was this king as a priſoner in this ſorte ſubiected to his mercy, but all the other aduerſe forces alſoe ſhortly vanquished or vanished, his wife and children reduced to obedience, and the clowdes of misfortunes thus diſperſed, king Henry the father as before victoriously shyned. All which as hee attributed only to Allmighty God and his Martyr, ſoe humbly commending my ſelfe to the mercys of the one, and the patronage of the other, I heere conclude this Translation.

The kinges enemyes ouercome by the Martyrs merites.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

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